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Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale.

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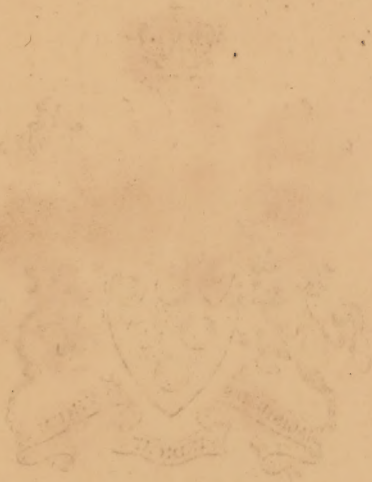
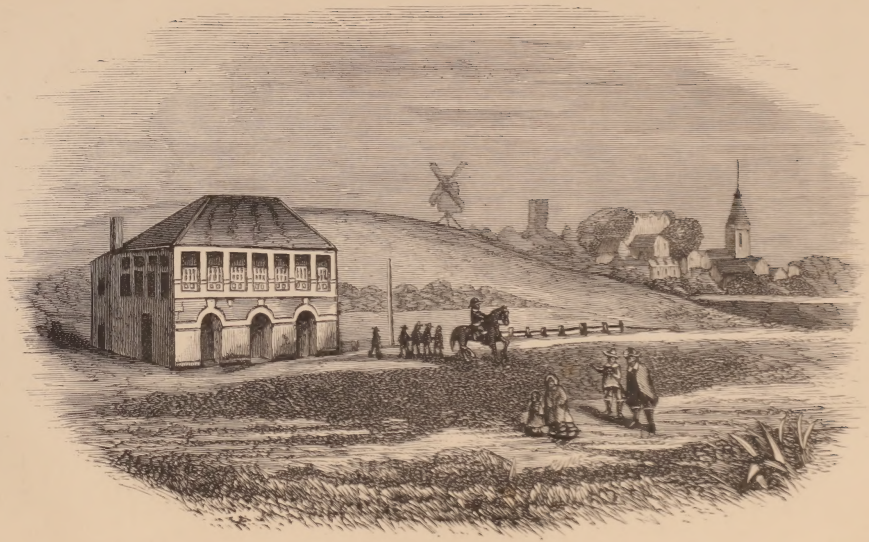


THE HISTORY OF NEWMARKET, AND *THE ANNALS OF THE TURF.*



NEWMARKET. THE RACE-COURSE AND STAND TEMP. CHARLES I.

THE HISTORY OF NEWMARKET,

AND

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF:

WITH MEMOIRS AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE HABITUÉS OF NEWMARKET, AND THE NOTABLE TURFITES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

J. P. HORE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF JAMES I.

LONDON:

A. H. BAILY AND CO.,

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PREFACE.

Rich, as many of our counties are, in topographical and historical literature, Cambridgeshire has been so neglected in this respect that she may be termed the Cinderella of the Shires. Need we wonder, then, when this important county—whose metropolis is the seat of one of our most renowned and ancient Universities—has hitherto found no scribe to worthily chronicle her rural records, that an obscure hamlet within her confines should be unnoticed by writers upon ancient topographical subjects? Nevertheless, this erst obscure hamlet (to use a racing phrase) is, on "book form," four times as wicked as the infamous towns mentioned in Genesis (which were only once destroyed by fire), because after Newmarket became the Metropolis of the Turf, on three several times, it was almost reduced to ashes, and once nearly destroyed by water, by way of a change. Surely a place enjoying such a reputation to start with, does not deserve to languish any longer in obscurity; and being actuated with a desire to lift the veil which so long hid her blushes,

mainly accounts for the compilation of these volumes. Whether the subject is worth the pains its production incurred remains to be seen. It is a (very) plain unvarnished tale, told by a sportsman, for sportsmen, who has endeavoured throughout the work to faithfully depict scenes of bygone days in Newmarket by reproducing as closely as possible the characteristics and incidents of those times as they were then portrayed.

The same course, but in a more marked degree, has been observed in compiling the Annals of the Turf. "Veracity is their only ornament"—to quote the words of a celebrated writer; "but it is an ornament beyond all others in historical anecdotes." The Annals are often crude, and sometimes may be found unpalatable—replete with bad spelling, shocking grammar, and wretched diction. If we want elegant orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, and all the flowers of rhetoric, these will be found abounding in the "Histories of the British Turf from the Earliest Times to the Present Day," by James Christie Whyte (2 vols., London, 1840), and by James Rice (2 vols., London, 1879); but, unfortunately, the rhetoric seems to have crowded out the historical information given in our Annals from the earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century; the seventeenth century is but little better off; the eighteenth century is no more than a poor and imperfect summary of the Racing Calendars; and from the beginning of the nineteenth century to

the present day, the works of those brilliant writers abound in "historical" inaccuracies of the most flagrant description.

The memoirs and biographical notices of the *habitués* of Newmarket, and of the notable Turfites who flourished long long ago, will probably be interesting to the sportsman of our own times. "Memoirs are the materials, and often the touchstone, of history;" —to quote our favourite author again—who very truly adds, "And even where they descend to incidents beneath her notice, they aid the studies of the antiquary and moral philosopher."

In conclusion, I must, in gratitude, tender my thanks to the Duke of Beaufort, the Earl of Pembroke, Edmund Tattersall, Esq., and M. Leopold de Rothschild, for contributing the cost of the illustrations.

J. P. HORE.

NEWMARKET,
May, 1885.

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THE HISTORY OF NEWMARKET,

AND

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF.

BOOK I.

NEWMARKET AND THE TURF IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

Ancient British settlements in the vicinity of Newmarket—The Tumuli—Cinerary and other Celtic remains found therein—The Iceni race—Brief account of them by the Roman historians—Enter into an alliance with the Romans—Revolt under Ostorius—The league between Prasutagus and the Emperor—Tyranny of the Romans—Revolt of the Iceni under Queen Boadicea—Obtain a temporary victory—Their subsequent defeat by the Romans—Treatment of the Iceni after the conquest—The Roman-British coins—Those stamped with the figure of a horse—Peculiar to the Iceni race—Probable celebrity of their horses—Taxed by the Romans—Exportation of British horses to Rome—The Devil's Ditch—Brief survey and description of the structure—Probabilities as to its origin and objects—Newmarket and its vicinity during the Anglo-Saxon era—Royal residents at Exning—The East-Anglican sovereigns—*St. Etheldreda*—The origin of horse-racing in England—Introduced by the Romans—The primitive racehorse—Its Eastern descent—The Spanish Legion—Their racehorses—Training difficulties during the Roman occupation of England—How overcome—Dissemination of Eastern blood—Prominent race-meetings in England under the Romans—The Turf during the Anglo-Saxon era—Probability of horse-races at Newmarket at this period—Progress of the Turf in England in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John—The thoroughbred horses of the Middle Ages—Importation of Eastern blood—Examples—The first authentic description of a horse-race in the Middle Ages—Match between the Prince of Wales (Richard II.) and the Earl of Arundel—Owners up—The Earl's horse wins—Is bought by Richard II. for £4000—*The Earl of Arundel*—The Fathers of the

Turf in the Dark Ages—*Richard II.*—Superiority of English horses in the Middle Ages—Celebrated in song and elegy—Their fame at home and abroad—English Turfites on the Continent—Racing at Milan, Florence, Pisa—Disastrous effect of the Civil Wars on the Turf in England in the fifteenth century—The sport abandoned—Dispersion of racing studs—Foreign buyers—Purchases by the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua—Presents of English horses to the Duke of Ferrara from the Royal Stud at Eltham—The Middle Park in the Middle Ages—Legislation relating to horse breeding, etc.—Newmarket in the Middle Ages—Famous for displays of equestrian skill—Examples—*The Earl of Pembroke—The Earl of Gloucester and Hertford—The Earl of Surrey*—Newmarket and the vicinity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—The town nearly destroyed by a deluge in 1393—Royal visit in 1453—Manorial history of Newmarket—First mention of the town in 1227—The Plague at Exning—Alleged removal of the market at Exning to Newmarket—Grant of Henry III. to Richard de Argentine to have an annual fair at Newmarket—The Lords of the Manor—The *Argentines*—The *Alingtons*—The *Butlers*—Local events—*Bishop Merkes.*

Although the earliest mention of Newmarket* in the counties of Cambridge and Suffolk does not occur until the year A.D. 1227, there is evidence that the vicinity of the Town and Heath was inhabited by the ancient Britons in almost pre-historic times.

Two British tumuli on the borders of Newmarket Heath were opened in May, 1845, and in the following year an account of the examination of them appeared in the "Archæological Journal" (vol. iii., p. 255). The first one described is in the parish of Bottisham. It is placed on an elevated range of hills, forming an escarpment of the chalk, which makes it conspicuous for miles over the flat country around. This position, and the fact that an immense quantity of charcoal was found throughout the composition of this tumulus,

* Newmarket in Yorkshire occurs in mediæval documents, but its precise position is unknown. There is a town of the same name in Flintshire, North Wales; two in Ireland, in Co. Cork and Co. Clare and another in the United States of America.

which is of large size, measuring about ninety feet in diameter, although the deposit was, in comparison, very trifling, induces the supposition that it had been used as a site for a beacon-fire, to guide the traveller over the wild waste of fen-country which spreads in all directions around, and hence, possibly, the name of the "Beacon course." The excavation of this tumulus in 1845 was made from east to west, commencing from the eastern side, in the direction of its centre, in which, at a depth of about three feet, there was found a cinerary urn in an inverted position, slightly tilted on one side, and surrounded by charcoal and burnt earth. It was filled with charcoal, but contained only one small fragment of bone. This vessel, which was of the simplest manufacture, moulded by the hand, and sun-baked, measured in height five inches, and its diameter at the largest part was five inches and a half. From the deep red colouring, and the general appearance of the surrounding soil, it would seem that a small hole had been first dug, charcoal and bones burnt in it, the vase placed on the fire in an inverted position, and the whole covered up. About ten feet eastward of the central deposit, on the south side of the line of excavation, and half a foot deeper, a deposit of fragments of bone was found apparently calcined, but with little charcoal or burnt earth, forming a layer not more than three inches thick, and two feet in circumference. There were several pieces of the skull, a portion of the alveolar process, inclosing a tooth, apparently that of a young person, pieces of the femur and clavicle, and other fragments. A little to the

north of this spot there appeared a mass of charcoal and burnt earth, containing nothing of interest. After digging five or six feet deeper, operations were discontinued; and on the next day shafts were excavated from the centre, so as completely to examine every part, without any further discovery, and in every direction charcoal was found mingled with the heap, not in patches, but in fragments.

The other barrow was raised in a less conspicuous situation, about three hundred yards down the south slope of Allington Hill, part of the same range situate about a quarter of a mile to the south-west. Both are marked in the Ordnance map. An entrance was obtained from the east-north-east, passing south-south-west through the centre of the mound. Here a thin layer of charcoal appeared extending many feet in every direction. Amongst the soil thrown out, portions of two vases, broken, probably, at a previous opening, were found, "sufficing to prove that this had been an early Celtic, and not Roman deposit." One was the lip of a vase of red ware, the other a portion of a jar of the usual coarse, unbaked pottery, of black colour. In this tumulus were found two small rounded pieces of hard chalk, of the lower strata, called clunch. One was a perfect ball, smooth, measuring an inch in diameter; the other was of the same size, ground down in a regular manner, reducing it to a turbinated shape. It had been probably intended to perforate these as beads; a specimen of the same material, ground down in a similar manner and perforated, is in the possession of Mr. Collings.

It is very uncertain for what purpose the objects designated by Mr. Collings as beads were fabricated. They are frequently found in tumuli or earthworks, and remains of early occupation. They are mostly formed of indurated clay, bone, or stone, sometimes almost spherical, whilst other specimens are of flattened form, perforated in all cases, in the direction of the smaller diameter. They vary from about one to two inches in diameter. The conjecture appears probable that they may have been used in connection with the distaff, and the occurrence of such an object in a tumulus might thus serve to indicate the interment of a female. Some northern antiquarians, however, have regarded such perforated balls, or beads, as weights used in fishing, either for line or nets.*

The tribe of the Iceni, whose headquarters were at Exning, on Newmarket Heath, is mentioned by different ancient writers, though under a variety of names. That of "Iceni" is the form under which it appears in most copies of Tacitus, and that which is generally adopted. By Ptolemy they are called the Simeni (Σιμενοὶ, or, as some copies give it Ἰμενόι), and their chief town is said to be Venta (Οὔεντα). The ninth Iter of Antoninus is from Venta Icenorum (or Iciorum) to Londinium, and the geographer of Ravenna makes mention of the same town, but under the form Venta Cenomum. We learn from Tacitus

* An urn somewhat similar to that described above was found by some labourers employed to remove one of the Barrows on the Beacon Hill in May, 1815. See "Archæologia," vol. xviii., app. p. 436. London, 1817.

that the territory of the Iceni cannot have been far distant from Camulodunum. There is a class of coins which are principally found in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, possessing sufficient peculiarities of type to distinguish them as the currency of an independent tribe. On some of these coins the inscription ECEN occurs, which has been thought to refer to the name of the tribe, and doubtless justifies the reading ICENI, in preference to SIMENI, or any of the other forms. A tribe called Cenimagni is specified among those who, after the surrender of the Trinobantes, sent ambassadors, and submitted themselves to Julius; and it has been suggested by Camden, and accepted by some other writers, that in the first portion of this name we are to recognize that of the Iceni. The principal facts which are known in connection with this tribe are those of Tacitus ("Annals," lib. xii. cap. 31, *et seq.*). In A.D. 50 the Iceni are spoken of as a powerful nation, and unbroken by war, because they had voluntarily entered into an alliance with the Romans. At that time, however, they came into collision with the invaders, and were defeated by Ostorius, after which it would appear that they retained a kingly form of government only by sufferance of the Romans. This may be gathered from the testamentary disposition of one of their kings, who, in A.D. 61, when next the Iceni are mentioned, it would seem was but recently dead. This king, Prasutagus by name, renowned for his immense wealth, made the Roman emperor and his own two daughters his joint heirs, thinking by this

expedient to place both his kingdom and family beyond the reach of injury. How this arrangement succeeded is well known; the tyranny of the Romans having brought about the sanguinary revolt under Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, in which the Iceni, in conjunction with the Trinobantes and other tribes not accustomed as yet to the Roman yoke, destroyed the Roman garrison town of Camulodunum and some other Roman stations. No less than seventy thousand of the Romans and their allies are said to have been slaughtered before Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman governor and general, was in a position to engage with the insurgents. In the engagement, however, which ensued, the defeat of the Britons was complete, their army having been nearly annihilated, and Boadicea driven to end her life by poison. From this time forward there is no mention of the Iceni in the pages of Roman history.

Nearly all the gold and silver coins of the Iceni bear on the reverses the figure of a horse. Many of these horses, however, show a peculiarity in the pellets on the shoulder, and the hairy or branched character of their tails, which is confined to the Roman-British coins of this district. The inscriptions on these coins, as far as at present known, are ECEN, ECE, SAEMV, AESV, ANTED, and CAV (?) DVRO. The first person who suggested the attribution of coins of this class to the Iceni, was Sir Thomas Browne, the author of "Pseudodoxia Epidemica." In his "Hydriotaphia" (p. 7, ed. 1669) he relates that at the two Caistors, by Norwich and Yarmouth, "some British coynes of

Gold have been dispersedly found; and no small number of Silver-pieces near Norwich, with a rude Head upon the Obverse, and an ill-formed Horse on the Reverse, with Inscriptions IC., DUBO, T., whether implying *Iceni*, *Durotriges*, *Tascia*, or *Trinobantes*, we leave to higher conjecture." Gale, in his "Itinerary of Antonious" (4to ed. 1709, p. 109), seems to refer to the same coins, and is, indeed, probably quoting Sir Thomas Browne. White, in the description of his Plate of British Coins (1773), also refers a coin of the type Plate xv., No. 3, to the Iceni; and Akerman, "Num. Chron.," vol. i., p. 83, expresses his opinion that this class of coins is peculiar to Cambridgeshire. To Mr. Beale Poste, however, belongs the credit of having been the first to engrave a series of these coins in one plate, as coins of the Iceni ("Archæological Associations Journal," vol. iv., p. 107), and this attribution was corroborated by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in "Num. Chron.," vol. xv., p. 98.

Commercial intercourse between the Phœnician inhabitants of Tyre and the ancient Britons is supposed to have occurred some time between B.C. 1200 and B.C. 600, and chiefly consisted of minerals, cattle, and the skins of wild animals. Later on we know beyond doubt British horses—

> "Practised alike to stop, to turn, to chase,
> To dare the shock, or urge the rapid race"—

were so beautiful, so admirably trained, and so much admired, that they were exported to Rome in considerable numbers for the chariot and for mounting cavalry. And after the Roman conquest of Britain

had taken place, these horses, like other products of this country, were heavily taxed by the conqueror. Camden tells us that for the tribute payable by the Britons coins were stamped for this purpose. As the coins of the Iceni, above mentioned, bore on the reverses the figure of a horse, we may safely deduce that, even in those early times, the vicinity of Newmarket was celebrated for its horses. This inference is apparently confirmed by the presence of the word *Tascio*, or *Tacia*, or some abbreviation of it, on these Brito-Romano coins—a word said to be derived from *task* or *tascu*, which means, "in the original language of Britain," any load, burthen, or tribute imposed by the Tag, or prince, and that all the money so stamped had been coined for no other purpose than to pay the tribute or taxes imposed by the Romans, and levied upon certain products of the Britons.*

The following survey of, and remarks upon, the Devil's Ditch at Newmarket, are derived from a paper contributed by A. J. K. to the "Gentleman's Magazine," January, 1845:—

In the month of August, 1842, I had the opportunity of making some notes, founded on personal inspection, of the structure of that very remarkable ancient military earthwork on Newmarket Heath, in Cambridgeshire, popularly called the Devil's Dyke. As I am not aware that any particular survey of this strong and very extensive line of defence has been made, the report of my examination of it may not be unacceptable.

I surveyed it at a spot called The Links, where it remains

* Henry's "History of Briton," vol. i.

very bold and perfect, about a quarter of a mile south of the turnpike gate, which stands where it is crossed by the high road from Newmarket to London and Cambridge. I obtained, in a rough way, the following measurements, which cannot, however, greatly err from the truth.

This formidable vallum or rampart was commenced probably at its southern extremity, where the Ordnance map of Cambridgeshire marks the site of an ancient entrenched camp at Wood Ditton; there are also some tumuli northward of that place in front of the dyke, called, traditionally, "The Two Captains." Wood Ditton is evidently a name associated with the dyke, implying the wood on the ditch. The work is continued northward, across Newmarket Heath, in a straight course of eight miles, to a stream near the village of Reach, whose appellation, from the Saxon, pœcan, indicates the point to which the dyke *reached* or extended (see the Plan), so that its right flank rested on streams and marsh lands, and its left on a forest tract. The vallum being thrown up on the eastern side, shows that the entrenchment was intended to secure the plain of Newmarket against an enemy approaching from the westward by a barrier, impregnable if properly defended. Such, indeed, it must have been, for the escarpment of the rampire from the bottom of the ditch in the most perfect places measures not less than ninety feet, and is inclined at an angle of seventy degrees. On the top of the rampart is a cursus, or way, eighteen feet in breadth, sufficiently wide for the passage of cavalry or chariots. I have been told that, some years since, fragments of bronze furniture of chariot wheels were dug up near the line of dyke, but I cannot verify the information. On the top of the rampart I thought I could distinguish faint traces of a parapet of turf. The whole was probably strengthened by a line of palisades or stakes. It will be readily imagined how strong a defence this steep and bristled wall of earth must then have formed. Even now, to ascend its outward base from the bottom of the ditch is a feat of no small difficulty and labour. The excavation for the work was made in the solid stratum of chalk, which lies on Newmarket Plain next under

the vegetable mould; the rampire was doubtless faced with green sods, and nature has continued the surface of sward to this day.

About seven miles to the westward, crossing the high road, and running nearly in a parallel line, is another ditch and rampart, called the Fleam Dyke, which may be rendered, from the Saxon, the dyke of flight or refuge (Fleam), as it probably was for the inhabitants of East Anglia, being an obstacle against the assaults of the Mercians. I have not yet had the opportunity of comparing the construction of the Fleam Dyke with that of the Devil's Dyke; it varies very little in extent from the latter; it is called also, from the length of its course, the Seven-Mile Dyke. On the inner or eastern side of this work, near the high road, is a considerable tumulus, called in the maps, Matlow Hill.

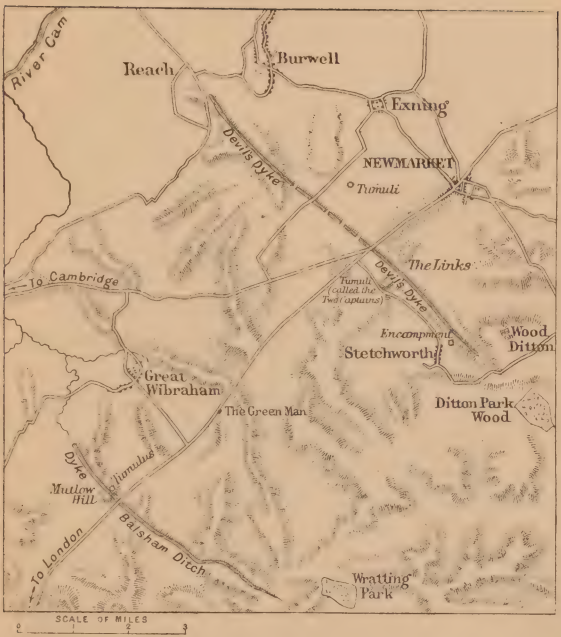
I am strongly disposed to think that the Devil's Dyke, and perhaps other lines of entrenchment of a similar character in the neighbourhood, were constructed by the Roman legions at an early period in Britain. Camden enumerates three military dykes in Cambridgeshire besides the Devil's Dyke, the strongest of them all. The Roman forces, after obtaining their first footing in Britain, occupied and colonized some eligible positions in Kent, Middlesex, and Essex; we find them at the time of the revolt of Boadicea at Camulodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (St. Alban's), and Londinium (London). The Trinobantes and Iceni were perhaps the first British districts which received the Roman yoke. . . .

The first mention of the Devil's Dyke in history is found in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 905, which tells us that the land of the East Angles was laid waste between the *dyke* and the Ouse, as far northward as the fens. The dyke was termed in the Norman period St. Edmunds Dyke, because the jurisdiction of the abbots of Bury St. Edmunds extended so far westward. The description of the dyke by Abbo Floxiacensis, a writer of the tenth century who had visited Britain, as quoted by Camden (edited by Gibson), is remarkable for its brief accuracy. Speaking of East Anglia, he says, that on the west "this province joins to the rest of the island,

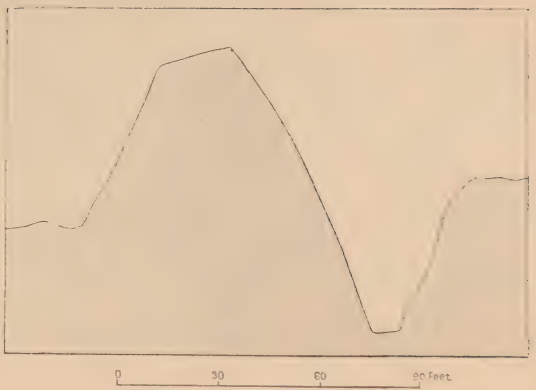
and consequently there is a passage; but to prevent the enemies' frequent incursions it is defended by a bank *like a lofty wall*, and a ditch." A reference to the sketch and section accompanying these notes will at a glance show the appropriate character of Abbo's words. . . .

I have hitherto omitted to mention that I observed some fragments of Roman tile scattered near the dyke, and that it appears to have been cut through in forming the present high road from Newmarket to Cambridge. That is some evidence for its very high antiquity. I recommend the explorator of this interesting fortification not to fail to visit the dyke at the Links, to descend into the fosse, and obtain the view I have given of its course, ascending the rising grounds southward in the direction of Wood Ditton. It will then be allowed I have drawn no exaggerated picture of the work. On the race-course at Newmarket its character is not so bold; it has been broken through in order to form apertures for the running horses at places which the general name of gates (*i.e.* gaps) has been given, and the rains of centuries have had more effect in reducing its features. If opportunity should occur, I shall be happy at some future period to survey the entrenchments marked in the Ordnance map at Wood Ditton, and to trace the dyke to its termination at Reach.

The question in the meantime still lies open, whether the Devil's Dyke is a Roman or a Saxon work, and any information tending to settle that point, conveyed through the medium of the "Gentleman's Magazine," will be received with satisfaction. The generations of mankind rapidly pass away, but the monuments which their labour has erected on the surface of the earth remain. Tradition generally affords an uncertain or exaggerated view of their origin, if remote, or, at a loss for its traces, proclaims them the work of demons. Written records are sometimes scanty, or altogether wanting. Documents and relics are often worthless, if not submitted to critical analysis. In many cases the aid of actual survey and delineation, and of the mattock and spade, must be resorted to. Coins, military weapons (observing whether these be of brass or iron), relics of domestic utensils or sepulchral rites,



PLAN OF DEVIL'S DYKE, NEWMARKET. *p.* 12.



Section of the Foss and Vallum.

may then be sought for, and, as these are evidences generally capable of comparative and chronological classification, they become of importance, and in the hands of a judicious collector are no longer rubbish unfit to occupy that most valuable of commodities entrusted to our husbandry—time.

According to the best authorities the Devil's Ditch was the boundary between the two Saxon kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia while the Heptarchy lasted, and although we have no definite evidence of the town of Newmarket, *per se*, having existed prior to the Middle Ages, it seems that this unnamed hamlet formed a part of Exning in the Anglo-Saxon era. Exning may be said to have decayed in the same ratio as Newmarket increased in importance and prominence. Formerly the parish of Exning comprehended the whole of what is now that of Newmarket, and its church was the mother-church to which the flock of the latter resorted. Consequently Newmarket may claim, as a portion of Exning (in those days of geographical ambiguity) the honour of being the birth-place of St. Etheldreda, a daughter of Anna and Hereswitha, king and queen of East Anglia, *circa* A.D. 630. Exning was anciently called Ixning—a word evidently derivable from that of *Iceni*, by which Cæsar and Tacitus described the inhabitants of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.* There is no name in the calendar of female British saints more fertile of strange incident and marvellous adventure than that of our St. Etheldreda; and one of the most

* See Baudrand's Geography, p. 503, edit. Paris, 1682; and Camden, Mag. Brit., vol. v., p. 220, *edit. orig.*

curious manuscripts extant in this country, forms the precious repository of her achievements.*

Now, having regard to the fact that in comparatively modern times royalty was so closely associated with Newmarket, we are induced to give a brief memoir of St. Etheldreda,[1] as she was one of the earliest sovereigns connected with the Town, some six hundred years before it was even christened; and may she not without profanity be termed the Patron Saint of the Metropolis of the Turf?

[1] Born at Exning, about the year 630, Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, king of the East-Angles, and Hereswitha his queen, was bred and educated there under the supervision of her illustrious parents, from whom she received the first impressions of religion and virtue. In her childhood, the mildness of her temper, and innocence of behaviour, joined with the beauty of her person, rendered her the delight of all that were about her; but that which was most observable in her constitution at that time of her life, was a serious turn of mind, and a bent to religious duties. It was very early that she devoted herself to the service of God, and had formed in her mind a design of preserving in a virgin state during life, a species of piety in that age held in high esteem, and requisite to Christian perfection, which this princess was generally thought to have carried to a pitch of heroism.

The amiableness of her person, heightened by those excellent endowments of mind she was possessed of, in a court where the most exalted piety and the strictest virtue were considered as the highest and noblest accomplishments, could not fail of exciting the admiration of many, and made her name celebrated in the other Saxon courts. There were several persons of the highest rank who became suitors for

* The *Liber Eliensis*. See Wharton, vol. i., pp. 593—688; Gale, vol. i. pp. 463—525.

her in marriage; but as the princess had already formed in her mind a different scheme of life, and was bent on a religious retirement from the world, she declined every offer that could be made of that kind. Many difficulties still lay in her way that thwarted her inclinations, and seemed to require an alteration of her purpose; for Tonbert, a prominent nobleman among the East-Angles, whom the Venerable Bede calls Prince of the South-Gervii, then in high favour with the king her father, asked her of him in marriage, and obtained his consent; so that, with much reluctance on her part, she was at length prevailed upon by the authority of her parents, to give up her will, and was accordingly married to that prince in the year 652; and by this marriage had the Isle of Ely settled on her in dower.

Etheldreda, who was now engaged in the bonds of marriage, did not, however, despair of accomplishing her design, but made use of all the arguments she was mistress of to persuade her husband, who is said to have been a person of great virtue and piety, to acquiesce in her opinion; and by prayers and entreaties gained his permission that she might enjoy her own way, and at length prevailed on him to follow her example, in a total and voluntary abstinence from the nuptial bed. In this manner they lived together, by mutual consent, about three years; and after that Tonbert died; and by his death the Princess Etheldreda came into full possession of the Isle of Ely, according to the settlement made before her marriage with that prince.

The Princess Etheldreda being now at liberty to indulge her natural disposition to solitude and devotion, retired from Exning to her Isle of Ely, where she was attended only by a few particular friends that she had made choice of on account of their religious qualifications. When she thus withdrew from the world it was her real intention to return no more to it, but—whilst her temporal affairs were carried on by her chief minister, Ovin, to whom she had committed the administration of them—to give herself up wholly to the exercise of devotion and all other religious duties. The place she had chosen seemed very proper for her purpose; for as an

island it was separated, as it were, from the outside world, so that nature seemed to have formed it for solitude and contemplation.

After she had lived some time in this recluse state, Prince Egfrid, "son of Oswy, King of Northumberland and Monarch of the English nation," hearing of her extraordinary virtues and piety, desired to obtain her in marriage. But he soon found that worldly riches and honours had little or no effect to induce her to change her condition, and therefore had recourse to her uncle Ethelwold, then king of East-Anglia, and to others who might be thought to have the greatest influence over her, to persuade her to accept his offer. The kingdom of East-Anglia was then in an unsettled state, from which it had not quite recovered since the death of her father Anna. Ethelwold, therefore, judging that the offer of an alliance with so great a prince was not to be neglected, and that it would prove highly beneficial to his kingdom, most earnestly persuaded her to accept the prince's offer; and at his solicitation she at length gave her consent, and was accordingly conducted to York, attended by Ovin, her prime minister, with many other of the East-Anglian nobility of both sexes, and there married to Prince Egfrid with great pomp and solemnity. The Venerable Bede, who flourished in those days, and was personally acquainted with this model husband and wife, asserts that, although Etheldreda continued Egfrid's consort for twelve years, "yet she remained glorious in the perpetual integrity of virginity."

In the year 670, King Oswy died, and Egfrid, his son, who had been his coadjutor in the latter part of his reign, succeeded him both in the kingdom of Northumberland and the monarch of the English nation; in consequence of which Etheldreda was raised to the highest degree of worldly honour, being now queen to the greatest of the Saxon kings. Her exalted station made no change in her estimation of secular honours, as her sentiments continued invariably the same; and indeed her intention of quitting them seems rather to have been hastened by that event; for she soon after began to solicit the king's leave to depart the court, and retire into some

monastery, where she might have more leisure to attend on the duties of her religion. The king, who had always shown the greatest regard and esteem for the queen, at first refused to give her leave, but was at length prevailed upon to give his consent; accordingly, she soon after went and entered the monastery of Coldingham, where St. Ebba, the king's aunt, then presided as abbess, and received the sacred veil from the hands of Wilfrid, bishop of York.

The queen's example influenced several other great persons of both sexes in that kingdom to renounce the world about the same time, and to retire into different monasteries; of which number was that Grand Old Man, Ovin, her prime minister, who had attended her from the Isle of Ely on her marriage, and had continued in her service ever since. "The fervour of his faith now increasing," says Bede, "he determined to bid the world adieu; and this he did effectually, for divesting himself entirely of worldly concerns, and disposing of his temporal possessions, he put on a mean habit, *and with only an ax* for cutting wood in his hands, he came to the monastery of the Reverend Father St. Chad, at Lastingham in Yorkshire, to whom he signified his intention, not to live in idleness, but to work and labour with his hands: and renounced the world, with a pure intention of obtaining thereby a reward in heaven." This Grand Old Man became so eminent for his piety, that he acquired the reputation of a saint, and his name is inserted in the Roman calendar accordingly.

Queen Etheldreda had now dedicated herself wholly to religion, and was engaged in the practice of the austerities that attend the monastic state of life, while the king's affection and esteem for her continued the same. He blamed himself for having assented to the separation, and was observed to be very much dissatisfied and uneasy. Those who were immediately about his person, soon found out the real cause of his disposition, and advised him to take the queen again by force out of the monastery. And he was without much difficulty persuaded to follow their counsel, for not long afterwards he set forward with a few of his attendants in order to convey

her thence. The abbess, however, had by some means or other got intelligence of the king's design in coming, and took care to inform the queen of it, and withal suggested to her that the only means left to prevent the ill consequences that might ensue, would be to leave the place without delay, and retire as well as she could to Exning. To this course she consented, and immediately set out on her way, and was but just started when the king arrived.

Finding the queen was gone, the king resolved to pursue her; and in his way came up to the side of a rock where she and her companions were, but was prevented from coming near them by a sudden and unusual inundation of water from the sea, which surrounded the rock where the queen and her two attendants reposed; and it having continued in that state several days, without returning into its former channel, the king interpreted it as the interposition of heaven in her favour, and concluded that it was not the will of God that he should have her again; he abandoned the chase, returned to York, and left his queen quietly to pursue her journey.

After the king returned to York, the queen and her two companions left their temporary place of refuge, and travelled as far as the river Humber, over which they were safely conveyed, and arrived at Wintringham; thence, turning into a village called Alftham, they were courteously entertained, and stayed a few days, and "there she built a church." From Alftham they continued their journey on foot, in the habit of pilgrims, not by the direct road, but through by-ways and lanes, to avoid the danger of pursuers. It happened that one day, being tired with the length of the journey and heat of the weather, and coming to a commodious spot of ground, the queen found herself disposed to rest, and laid herself down to sleep, whilst two faithful attendants watched by her. On awaking she observed that the pilgrim's staff, which she had fixed in the ground by her, had all the appearance of vegetable life in it, and found that it had taken root in the earth, and put forth leaves and shoots. Her staff, thus miraculously planted, it is said, afterwards became one of the tallest and most flourishing trees in the country, and the

place was called Etheldrede's-Stow, and a church was there built in honour of this holy queen.

After a difficult and hazardous journey, the queen and her two attendants arrived safe at Ely, and was received by her people with all the honours due to her character and high station. On her arrival there her first design was to have repaired the old church, then in ruins, and to have dedicated it, as it had formerly been, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to have built a monastery there ; but before this design had proceeded too far a more commodious situation was made choice of, as fitter for her purpose, and in this place the foundations of her church were laid, and the monastery began to be built in which both monks and nuns lived in society and regular observance under the founder queen, St. Etheldreda. For the maintenance and support of this monastery the royal foundress settled the whole Isle of Ely, being a principality with temporal power and jurisdiction, and all the profits arising from the government of it. And to secure this, her royal foundation, the more firmly and securely to future ages, she gave in charge and recommended it to the care of Bishop Wilfrid, who in the year 678 was on his departure to Rome to procure the Pope's confirmation of her grant, and of the liberties and immunities of the place, that her congregation there assembled might continue in the service of God and in the regular observance of discipline, free from want and from the disturbance or exaction of any officer of what power, eminence, or authority whatsoever; which confirmation Wilfrid is said to have obtained from the Pope. But before his return from Rome, the royal abbess died of an epidemical disease that prevailed at that time in her monastery, and had carried off several of the nuns and others of her confraternity. She is said, by the spirit of prophecy, to have foretold this contagious distemper, and the exact number of her household that would be taken out of the world by it, and herself among the rest. She died June 23, A.D. 679, in the seventh year after she was made abbess, in the reign of her brother Adulfus, king of East Anglia, and of her nephew Lothair, king of Kent, her late husband,

Egfrid, still reigning in Northumberland. It only remains for us to add that in the year 1107 the monastery was converted into a bishopric, and in the following year, by consent of the Pope, the episcopal see of Ely was founded, and that from that day to this the cathedral is a prominent landmark, visible from most parts of Newmarket Heath.

As to the antiquity of the turf in England, Hargrove, in his "History and Description of the Ancient City of York" (vol. i., p. 514), says we may trace the origin of horse-racing far beyond the days of Camden, "even to the time of the Romans." Referring to the races at York, he observes: "We know that the *Campos Martios* was the place where the illustrious Roman youths performed every kind of exercise peculiar to the age, such as throwing the discus, hurling the javelin, wrestling, etc.; and where they also practised the diversion of horse-racing and chariot-racing; hence, if Drake was correct in his idea, we may figure to ourselves the gay scenes which were exhibited, though they are not recorded in the page of history." *

It does not come within the scope of this work to minutely trace the nature and variety of all the foreign strains of the equine race introduced and subsequently

* "'Just within the entrenchments,' says Morton, writing in 1712, 'the whole circuit of the *Area*, excepting only about a Quarter of a Mile in the *Northern* part of it, has for several years been a celebrated Course for Horse Races; which, as it has been measured, and is now usually computed, wants about 28 Yards of Two Miles.'"—"Natural Hist. Northamptonshire." On the preceding Baker observes:—"The Britons were much attached to this diversion. May not this have been one of their *Cursus?* Others have been traced on the Wiltshire downs. In modern times the races here were held annually for two, and sometimes three days, till the year 1741, when they were practically discontinued, though occasionally resumed till the hill was enclosed."—"Hist. and Antq. of the Town and Co. of Northampton," vol. i., p. 347.

cultivated in the British Islands for racing and other purposes. It must here suffice to mention that all the horses which have been successful on the Turf, have been, from the earliest times, of Eastern descent. Thus, in the earliest mention of horse-races in England, in the reign of the Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 210), at Netherby in Yorkshire, the horses were delicate Arabs of famous speed and stamina, but so unsuitable to this climate that their owners were obliged to construct an enclosed training ground in order to prepare them for their engagements.* The other stations in England identified with the Turf during the Roman occupation were Rushborough, Carleon, Silchester, and Dorchester. The superiority of the English thoroughbred horse is attributable, if not directly traceable, to the Eastern blood introduced and maintained by the Romans at the period above mentioned. Subsequently the best English mares were covered by Arabian stallions which continued to be imported during the early and middle ages, and in a more marked degree and more closely allied with the Turf, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Horse-racing is incidentally mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon era. When the Saxon youth attained the age of fifteen he had the right of choosing his path in life. At this period we find them striving to excel each other in horse-racing. A person in Bede describes himself as one of a party who on their journey came to a spacious plain adapted to a race-course. The

* *Basilicam equestran exercitatoriam. Vide* Bruce's "Roman Wall."

young men were anxious to prove their horses in the greater course, or, as the Saxon translator expresses it, that "we might run and try which had the swiftest horse. The individual spoken of at last joined them, but his animated horse, attempting to clear a cavity in the way, by a violent leap, the youth was thrown senseless against a stone, and with difficulty brought to life." This probably occurred at Newmarket, within the dominion of East Anglia, in the reign of Edmund King and Martyr; but in those days Newmarket Heath was unknown and unnamed, nor indeed had Cambridgeshire any geographical identification.

"If we appeal to the poets," says Strutt, "we shall find that swift-running horses were greatly esteemed by the heroes who figure in their romances, and rated at prodigious prices; for instance, in an ancient poem, which celebrates the warlike actions of Richard the First, it is said, that in the camp of the Emperor, as he is called, of Cyprus,

> Two stedes fownde kinge Richarde,
> Thatt von Favell, thatt other Lyard;
> Yn this worlde, they hadde no pere [equal];
> Dromedary, neither destrere,
> Stede, rabyte, ne cammele, [steed, rabbit, or camel]
> Goeth none so swyfte withoute fayle;
> For a thousand pownd of golde,
> Ne sholde the one be solde.

And although the rhymist may be thought to have claimed the poetical licence for exaggeration respecting the value of these two famous steeds, the statement plainly indicates that in his time there were horses very highly prized on account of their swiftness. We do not find, indeed, that they were kept for the purpose of racing only, as horses are in the present day, but rather for hunting and other purposes of a similar nature; and also to be used by heralds and messengers in case of urgency." *

* "Rural Sports," book i., chap. iii., sect. 7.

"Running-horses," observes Strutt, "are frequently mentioned in the registers of the royal expenditure. It is notorious," he adds, "that King John was so fond of swift horses and dogs for the chase, that he received many of his fines in one or the other; but at the same time, it does not appear that he used the horses for any purpose of pleasure beyond the pursuits of hunting, hawking, and such like sports of the field."* King John was a large importer of horses of Eastern breed, of which many are mentioned as having been purchased by him, in the Misœ and other rolls of his reign.

Fitz Stephen mentions horse-races as having occurred in Smithfield in the reign of Henry II. But it is probable these were more in the nature of tests, preparatory to sales, than regular organized meetings, and do not apply to the Turf in a modern sense. However, the earliest description of a horse-race, *per se*, that we have discovered, took place in 1377. Unfortunately the locality where it took place is not mentioned. The horses in question belonged to the Prince of Wales (afterwards Richard II.) and the Earl of Arundel—owners up. It is described as follows by the Marquis de Saluces (a contemporary writer) in a unique manuscript formerly preserved in the Royal Library, Paris:—

. . . . . "Un jour li Roy une feste faisoit
De son filz qui chevalier faire vouloit,
Là, faisoit courer les destriers,
Et si y avoit joiaulz chiers,
Qui devoient estre cellui
Qui avoit meilleur cheval o lui,
Et qui mieulx seroit courant
Et aux joiaulz plus tost venant.
Là furent assemblez
Tous les destriers de mains contriez.
Le filz le Roy y fu mesmement,
Qui bien cuidoit estre gangnant
Car cuidoit avoir meilleur destrier
Que on peut nulle part trouver;
Mais au derrein ce fu pour néant,
Que Bovez fut trestous passant

* "Rural Sports," book i., chap. iii., sect. 6.

Par la force de son destrier,
Qui en mains lieux lui fu mestier,
Ce fu Arondel le courant ;
N'est meilleur ou firmament."

It seems that the Earl of Arundel's [2] horse subsequently passed into the possession of Sir Alured de Vere, from whom it was purchased by Richard [2] soon after his accession to the crown for a sum equal to about £4000 in our money, as appears by a writ of Privy Seal dated April 5th, 1378.*

[2] Richard Fitzalan, 14th EARL OF ARUNDEL, is said to have been the first issue of his father's second marriage with Eleanor Beaumont, and was probably born about the year 1346. He was a Knight of the Garter, and held various important offices of state, particularly that of Lord High Admiral of England. In the spring of 1387, the earl put to sea with a powerful force, and if a series of brilliant successes could have atoned for the political crimes into which he afterwards suffered himself to be betrayed, the splendour of his present achievements might fairly have vindicated him in the eyes of the world. His first exploit was to capture a large convoy of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchantmen, numbering over a hundred sail, which he intercepted in its return from Rochelle. To disencumber himself of the immense booty he had acquired, he returned to harbour with upwards of a hundred sail, which he had taken, and a quantity of wine, according to one historian of no less than nineteen thousand tuns. Froissart informs us that, in consequence of this capture, the best wine was for several months sold in London at fourpence the gallon. After refitting his vessels, he once more embarked for the French coast; and, having thrown provisions into the town of Brest, then besieged by the Duke of Bretagne, sailed to Sluys, destroyed and captured the vessels in the harbour, and laid waste to the country to a distance of more than ten leagues. This terminated his operations until the following spring, when they were renewed with equal success on the western coast of France; and

* Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Rich. II., Manuscript P. R. O.

Torigni, Marans, Rochelle, with the numerous ports in Saintonge, Poictou, and Normandy, were successively compelled to acknowledge the power of his arms.

It is not within our province to follow the political movement of the earl from this date to 1389, when he was dismissed from his offices by the king; but in the course of the following year he succeeded in effecting his reconciliation at court, and in August, 1390, we find him engaged in a hunting party with the sovereign, on the estate of the Duke of Lancaster, at Leicester. In 1394 he obtained an especial pardon for all his political offences; and, having become disgusted with public life, procured a particular exemption from all attendance in Parliament for the future.

During five years Arundel continued to enjoy that privacy which the tumultuous scenes of his past life must have rendered more than usually delightful. But on July 12th, 1397, he was suddenly seized, hurried to the Tower, and thence, for greater security, conveyed to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight. His arraignment, trial, and execution, for an alleged treason, for which he had already obtained a full pardon, is a matter of history. When the sentence was pronounced he turned to his guards, cheerfully resigned himself to their charge, and was instantly hurried from Westminster to Tower Hill, the place appointed for the scene of his last conflict. When he had ascended the platform, he paused for a moment to survey the assembled multitude, took up the axe which lay upon the block before him, and, having felt its edge, playfully remarked that it was sufficiently sharp, and that he hoped the executioner would perform his office expeditiously. He then knelt down, and at one stroke his head was severed from his body. Thus was done to death Richard Fitzalan, 14th Earl of Arundel, one of the fathers of the British Turf in the Dark Ages.*

* "The Hist. and Antq. of the Castle and Town of Arundel," by the Rev. M. A. Tierney (F.S.A. Lond., 1834), pp. 240–276. It is worth noting that the earl bequeathed to his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a gilt and enamelled cup, "with the stag on its cover," which may have been a prize won at some horse-race. His effects amounted in the

[8] Richard of Bordeaux, son and heir of the Black Prince, ascended the throne, on the death of his grandfather, Edward III., June 21, 1377. The chief events of Richard II.'s stormy reign—the expedition to Bretagne, the ensuing poll-tax, the insurrection under Wat Tyler, the dawn of the Reformation under Wycliffe, the translation of the Bible, the expedition to Ireland, Bolingbroke's usurpation, Richard's return to England, his deposition and imprisonment in Rhuddlan Castle, the proceedings in Parliament, the loyalty of the Man of Newmarket, and the accession of Bolingbroke—are too prominent events in the history of England to require any further allusion at our hands. None of our historians refer to Richard as a Turfite; many of them are contradictory as to the cause of his death. Shakespeare, as a rule, is not safe to follow on strictly historical subjects; but as the Immortal Bard of Avon gave the best tip on record for the Derby of 1884,* we are induced to give the poet's version of the last scenes of the earthly career of Richard II. After Bolingbroke assumed the purple and occupied the throne, by the title of Henry IV., he did not deem himself secure as long as his deposed cousin lived. Deciding to have Richard murdered, Bolingbroke employed Sir Pierce Exton to do the deed. He proceeds to Pomfret, where Richard is confined a prisoner in the dungeon of the castle. Here we find the dethroned monarch in abject misery, almost longing for death, when a visitor arrives: a poor groom, formerly employed in the royal stable, who, travelling towards York, with much ado, got leave to look upon his sometime royal master's face. He mentions the joyous scenes in the streets as Bolingbroke went to be crowned at Westminster, mounted on roan Barbary, the horse that Richard often bestrode, the horse that he (the groom) used to so carefully dress. The incident revives old memories and pleasing incidents in the poor captive's breast, and thus the dialogue proceeds—

aggregate to 108,395 marks 12*s.* 1*d.*, which, according to a calculation made by Peter le Neve in 1709, would have been equal, at that date, in modern currency, to £4,335,833 11*s.* 8*d.*

* See *King Richard II.*, Act II., Scene 1, last line.

King Richard. Rode he on Barbary? Tell me, gentle friend,
How went he under him?
Groom. So proudly as if he had disdain'd the ground.
King Richard. So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back!
That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand;
This hand hath made him proud with clapping him.
Would he not stumble? Would he not fall down,
(Since pride must have a fall,) and break the neck
Of that proud man that did usurp his back?
Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee,
Since thou, created to be awed by man,
Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;
And yet I bear a burden like an ass,
Spur-gall'd, and tired, by jauncing Bolingbroke.

The groom takes his leave, and soon after Exton arrives and assassinates Richard, who, after a futile effort to defend himself, falls—

As full of valour, as of royal blood.

"In the Middle Ages," says Strutt, "there were certain seasons of the year when the nobility indulged themselves in running horses, and especially in the Easter and Whitsuntide holidays. In the old metrical romance of 'Sir Bevis of Southampton,' it is said—

In former at Whitsontyde,
Whan knightes most on horsebacke ride;
A cours, let they make on a daye,
Steedes, and Palfraye, for to assaye;
Whiche horse, that best may ren,
Three myles the cours was then,
Who that might ryde *him* shoulde
Have forty pounds of redy golde.

"A writer of the seventeenth century tells us that horse-racing, which had formerly been practised at Eastertide, 'was then put down as being contrary to the holiness of the season;' but for this prohibition I have no further authority." *

Strutt mentions that "in the reign of Edward III., running horses purchased for the king's service were generally estimated at twenty marks, or £13 6*s.* 8*d.* each; but some few of them were prized as high as twenty-five marks. I

* "Sports and Pastimes," book i., chap. iii., p. 32.

met with an entry," he adds, "dated the ninth year of this king's reign, which states, that the King of Navarre sent him as a present two running-horses, which, I presume, were very valuable, because he gave the person who brought them no less than one hundred shillings for his reward." *

The contemporary and unknown author of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of Richard II. (now preserved in the British Museum) says the king had "many a good horse of foreign breed." Towards the close of his grandfather's wars in France, coursers had become so scarce that the Parliament of 1370 interfered to check the exorbitant demands of the dealers. No serious drain from the same cause could have taken place now for some years; but it appears that Richard drew the choicest of his stud from abroad.

The king was seldom at a loss for ordinary horses when any particular occasion called for them; he had only to go to the abbeys. They were all ransacked for this purpose when he was about to attend at a conference with the King of France at Calais; and great demands were made upon them for the campaign in Ireland. "Religion," says a contemporary satirist, "is a rider, a pricker of a palfrey from manor to manor," and Chaucer,† who has frequently noticed the subject, observes of his monk:

"Full many a daintie horse had he in stable;"

and mentions the high condition of that on which he rode; "his hors in *great estate*," or "of price."

The young gallant of the period likewise aspired, and

* "Sports and Pastimes," book i., chap. iii., sec. 6.

† Also referred to by other old writers:

Le Roman *de Roncevaux* MS.: Et sui monté el bon Cheval de pris.

Le Roman *de Gaydon* MS.: Un Chevalier sor un D'estrier de pris.

Le Roman *de Garin* MS.: En Destre meinent les Auferrans de pris.

Infra: Girbert se sist sor le Cheval de pris.

Le Roman *de Girard de Vienne* MS.: S'or me donnez ce bon Destrer de pris.

It is obvious these were thoroughbreds of the period, and known as "horses of price," and doubtless were of Eastern descent—

Le Roman *d'Athis* MS.: Chevaulx d'Espaigne et Arabis.

stopped at no cost, to obtain swift coursers. The attendant upon Richesse in the Romaunte of the Rose is a counterpart of Richard II. in this particular—

> "Hys luste was moche in housholdynge,
> In clothyng he was full fetyse,
> And loved well to have a horse of pryse.
> He wende to have reproved be
> Of thefte or murdre, yf that he
> Had in hys stable an hackenay.

Much abuse occurred in the impressment of horses for the king's service, for which remedy was provided by the statute 20 Rich. II., c. 5, against "people of evil condition, who of their own authority take and cause to be taken *royally* horses, saying and devising that they be to ride on hasty messages and business, whereof truth they be no wise privy to any business or message; but only in deceipt and subtility by such colour and device do take horses, and the said hastily do ride, and evil thereat, having no manner of conscience or compassion in this behalf; so that the said horses become all spoiled and foundered, paying no manner of thing nor penny for the same, nor giving them any manner of sustenance;" and to complete this picture of cheating it further states that "some such manner of people changing and altering their names, do take and ride such horses, and carry them far from thence to another place, so that they to whom they belong can never after by any means see, have again, nor know their said horses where they be." It was usual to feed coursers in training with horse-bread (*payn pour chivaulx*), and to set their coats with cloths.*

Some of the nobility were great breeders, and kept large studs; and the wealthy regular clergy always encouraged a race of good horses.

Horses of Eastern breed (*courcers*, etc.), for racing, etc., as we have already mentioned, were cultivated in our country when it was ruled by the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Normans. Great im-

* Cotton, MS. Vesp. F. XIII. 43.

portance was attached to the royal studs, and to those kept up by the great barons and ecclesiastics throughout the country. These examples could be largely multiplied if it were necessary to adduce further proofs of the antiquity and the cultivation of Eastern strains to *temp.* Richard II.* And there is no doubt, at this particular epoch, the thoroughbred English horse ("Eques Britannicus") was characteristic of the nation. They were recognized, and their praises sung, abroad, where their owners invariably carried off the Mantle † with them; while at home they must have been equally known to fame, although their victories have found no recorder, or if recorded the chronicles have perished.

* Cursor Equus, *Coursier.* Will. Malmesbury, lib. 2. de Gestis Ang. cap. 6: Equos Cursores plurimos, cum phaleris fulvum, ut Maro ait, mandentes sub dentibus aurum (A.D. 926).

Guntherus, lib. 7. Ligurini:

> Non tamen aut galea muniri tempora curat,
> Aut Cursoris equi, quo prælia semper agebat,
> Officio fungi, etc.

See in Consuetudine Andegavensi, art. 47, et Cenomanensi, art. 55.

Custodes Equicii Regis.—Abbr. Rotul., tom. i., p. 234, b. Suth., rot. 10 et p. 273, b. Essex, rot. 12 et tom. ii., p. 53, b. 71, b. 97, b. etc. Equi jumenta et Equita, p. 257, b. Ebor, rot. 5. Custodia equorum, jumentorum, pullanorum et Equicii, ibid., p. 211, b. Ebor., rot. 23. Equos, equas, et pullanos de Equitio, Dom. Reg. Oxon., rot. 11, p. 131.—Collection of expenses, etc., of the royal studs, etc. in P.R.O.

† The usual prize given on the Continent for horse-races, about this period, was a mantle of silk, cloth, or rich stuff. See Petrarch's reference to English horses. For description of the races at Milan, Florence, Pisa, etc., etc., see "Memoirs of Sir John Hawkwood," Lond. 1780—1782, No. IV. The horses brought by English pilgrims to the Holy Land in the fourteenth century were much prized by potentates in "foreign" parts "beyond the seas." Some interesting references to horse-racing in Spain about this period, when the Peninsula was the home of the thoroughbred barb, will be found in the Chevalier de Bourgoame's Travels, ch. iii., ed. Paris, 1803.

Unhappily, the deposition of Richard II., and afterwards the Wars of the Roses, effectually put a stop to all rural sports in England, except at rare intervals, until the accession of the House of Tudor. We have seen the Land Leaguers in Ireland putting down hunting and racing in that island. We can imagine the impossibility of any sports in England during the Civil Wars, at any rate there is no rural history of that terrible period; it is all fire, rapine, and the sword. Those who had good horses were only too glad to dispose of them at any price, and many a noble thoroughbred was surreptitiously sent out of the country. Foreign breeders made much of the opportunity, and secured the best strains, doubtless, on very easy terms. This was a sad calamity—the results of breeding for centuries being almost annihilated. Yet, curiously enough, after several generations had elapsed, some descendants of those English thoroughbreds "worth their weight in silver," came back to England in the reign of Henry VIII.*

The House of Este—both the German and Italian branches respectively, Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua—was closely connected by marriage, etc., with the sovereigns of England from this period to *temp.* Queen Mary. These dukes obtained, from time to time, some of the best thoroughbreds at the royal studs in England, which they cultivated with the greatest

* English thoroughbred horses were first imported to America about 150 years ago. We see their descendants, Foxhall and Iroquois, taking the highest prizes on the turf, and probably the best horses of the day. An analogous case is furnished in Henry VIII.'s Governatore and Altobello.

assiduity. At the commencement of the Wars of the Roses, Borso of Este, created Duke of Ferrara by Pope Pius II., obtained many of the best thoroughbreds our country possessed, with which he augmented his stud, and probably made it one of the best to be found at that time in the world. His successor, Duke Hercules, likewise obtained some of the best strains it was possible to procure in England and Ireland.* Many of these, especially the Eltham breed, were at the Mantua paddocks highly prized and carefully preserved, so much so, that the strain of English blood (*equi. Brit.*) was carefully transmitted and reintroduced into this country in 1515.

From the earliest times horses could be taken for the service of the king without warrant (see Mag. Car. Statutes—25 Edw. I., c. 21; 36 Edw. III., cc. 4, 5). In the reign of

* The four first Marquises of Este were brought into juxtaposition with England from 1377 to 1450, and originally bore the title of "Vicar of the See Apostolic in Ferrara." Marquis Leonello took for his second wife Maria, natural daughter of Alfonso of Aragon, who expelled Réné of Anjo from Naples on the 1st of June, 1442. On the 30th of May, 1445, King Réné's daughter, Marguerite, was crowned Queen of England in Westminster Hall. Early in her tempestuous reign we find the beautiful young queen evincing her solicitude for the cultivation of letters and race-horses. She founded Queen's College in Cambridge, and sent her Master of the Horse, Reynold Chicheley, with a draft of horses from the Eltham[1] stud to the Marquis, who was so pleased with the present, and knowing the queen's predilection for literature, that he appointed Chicheley to the renowned office of rector of the "Alimental University" of Ferrara (*insigne officium rectoratus almi studii in urbe vestrâ Ferrariense*), for which she returned most hearty thanks.

[1] Eltham was recently celebrated for the stud of the late Mr. Blenkiron. On his death, in 1872, it was sold by Messrs. Tattersall, when the sale realized £107,100. It was finally sold off in 1883. The Middle Park Plate, founded in 1866, and still a great two-year-old prize at Newmarket, unintentionally perpetuates associations of the Turf and thoroughbred horses of an almost forgotten age!

Henry VII. the exportation of horses and mares beyond the seas was prohibited, presumably because all the best, for which the country was celebrated, had been sent abroad, and none but inferior breeds left behind. Henry VIII. likewise prohibited the exportation of horses to *foreign* parts beyond the seas (Calais, of course, being excepted), as also to Scotland—selling a horse to a Scotchman without the king's license being felony to buyer and seller. A few years later, by the statute of 27 Hen. VIII., c. 6—which recites the case of decay in English horses—owners and farmers of parks, etc., should keep brood mares not less than thirteen hands high, on penalty of 40*s.* per month; and four mares should be kept on every park of four miles in extent, under like penalty. By a somewhat later statute it was enacted that no stoned horses under fifteen hands high shall be put to pasture in any forest, etc., within certain counties specified; nor under fourteen hands high in other counties, on penalty of forfeiture thereof. Next, by the 33 Henry VIII., c. 5, archbishops and dukes had to maintain seven stoned trotting horses for the saddle; marquises, earls, and bishops, five ditto; viscounts, barons, etc., having incomes to the value of 1000 marks, three ditto; others with incomes of 500 marks, two ditto; and those in receipt of £100 a year, "whose wife shall wear any gown of silk, or any French hood or bonnet of velvet, with any habiliment, paste, or egg of gold, pearl, or stone, or any chain of gold about their necks, or in their partlets, or in any apparel of their body," one ditto, under penalty, etc., etc. Many of these acts were renewed and extended under Edw. VI., Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth.

Although there is no authority for the assumption, it is nevertheless possible that the match between the Earl of Arundel and Richard II. may have been contested on Newmarket Heath. The locality had long been famous for exhibitions of equestrian art. Thus in 1309, Edward II. interdicted a tournament which was to be held there on the Feast of St. George.

A similar event was prohibited in 1313, when the king warned his nobles generally, and seven of them by name, not to attend the tournament at "Novum Mercatum," on the 17th of January of that year. Among those "named" were the Earl of Pembroke,[4] the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford,[5] the Earl of Surrey,[6] Paganus de Tybotot, William de Latimer, and Bartholomew de Badelesmere.*

Holinshed, in referring to the great floods and inundations which happened in England in 1393, says that at Newmarket the deluge knocked down the walls of houses and brought men and women in great danger of drowning.†

Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., was at Newmarket early in the year 1453, when she gave two men, whose stable was burnt down, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*‡

In those days the road towards Newmarket was well known to the pilgrims to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.§

The town of Newmarket is divided into two parishes, All Saints' and St. Mary's, the former being in Chiveley hundred, Cambridgeshire, and the latter in Lackford hundred, Suffolk, the High street dividing the two counties. It is

* Reymer's "Fœdera" and "Calendar of Patent Rolls."

† Mr. H. T. Riley, editor of Walsingham's "Ypodigma Neustriæ" (p. 365), with reference to the "great inundations at Bury and Newmarket" in 1393, gives the following reading of the text: "Aquarum inundatio apud Bury tanta ruit, ut aream adimpleret ecclesiæ, et apud Novum Forum parietes domorum diruerat, et viris illic, ac mulieribus, pene periculum dimersionis inferret, in Octobrio."

‡ Strickland, "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. ii., p. 209.

§ The stages between London and Walsingham used to be as follows:—From London to Ware, 20 miles; to Newmarket, 34 miles; to Brandon Ferry, 10 miles; to Dickham, 10 miles; and thence to Walsingham, 12 miles. Total 86 miles.

distant sixty miles from London, and thirteen east from Cambridge, and is in the rural deanery of Fordham, archdeaconry of Sudbury, and diocese of Ely. Under the new Redistribution of Seats Act, the Newmarket division of Cambridgeshire is entitled to return one member of Parliament.

[4] Adomarus de Valentia, Comes Pembrochiæ, as he is called in the royal mandamus, was Aymer de Valence, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, third son and successor of William de Luzignan, otherwise De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, killed in battle in France, A.D. 1296. Aymer, the 2nd Earl, was in the wars of Scotland, *temp.* Edward I., and obtained considerable grants from the crown in that kingdom. Being with the king at Burgh-upon-the-Sands, immediately before the death of Edward I., he was one of those to whom the king recommended his son, and enjoined him not to suffer Piers de Gaveston to come into England again, for which he was ever after much hated by Piers, "being called by him 'Joseph the Jew,' in regard he was tall and pale of countenance." He subsequently joined the coalition against the power of Gaveston, and assisted at the siege of Scarborough Castle, in which, upon its surrender, the favourite was made prisoner, and was soon after beheaded, by order of the Earl of Warwick, at Blackburn Hill, near Warwick. In the 8th Edward II., the Earl of Pembroke was constituted general of all the king's forces, from the river Trent, northwards, to Roxborough, and he obtained license to make a castle of his house at Bampton, in Oxfordshire. Two years later he was again in the Scottish wars, but being made prisoner in his journey towards the court of Rome, by John Moilley, a Burgundian, and sent to the emperor, he was constrained to give twenty thousand pounds of silver for his ransom; by reason, Moilley alleged, that he himself, having served the king of England, had not been paid his wages. After obtaining his liberty, his lordship returned to the wars in Scotland, and for several subsequent years was engaged in that kingdom. In the 15th Edward II. he was one of the

lords who sat in judgment upon Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, and condemned that Prince to death: "but this mercenary and time-serving act of infamy," it is said, was speedily atoned for by his own death, which occurred in two years after in France, where, attending Queen Isabel, he was murdered, June 27, 1323. He married 1st, Beatrix, daughter of Ralph de Claremont, Seigneur de Nele, Constable of France; 2ndly, a daughter of Count de Barre; and 3rdly, Mary (who was great-granddaughter, maternally, of King Henry III. She founded, by grant from her cousin, Edward III., the college of Mary de Valence, in Cambridge, now called Pembroke Hall), daughter of Guy de Chastillion, Comte de St. Paul, but had no issue. His remains were conveyed to England, and buried in Westminster Abbey. On the earl's decease, his estates passed to his sisters as co-heirs, and the Earldom of Pembroke became extinct.

[5] Gilbertus de Clare, Comes Gloucestriæ et Hertfordiæ—eldest son of Gilbert de Clare, surnamed the Red, 7th Earl of Hertford and 3rd Earl of Gloucester, and Alice, daughter of Guy, Earl of Angoulesme, and niece of the King of France—succeeded his father in 1295. He married Maud, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. Like the celebrated Sir Giles Argentine, of Newmarket, he was killed at the battle of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314; and leaving no issue, his large possessions devolved upon his three sisters, his co-heiresses, and the Earldom of Gloucester and Hertford became extinct.

[6] Johannes de Warennâ, Comes Surriæ, posthumous son of William de Warren (eldest son of John de Warren [Plantagenet], Earl of Warren and Surrey) and Joane, daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. His father was killed in a tournament at Croydon, December 12, 1285. On the death of his grandfather, in 1304, this Earl of Surrey, named in the royal mandamus prohibiting the tournament at Newmarket, succeeded to the honours and estates of his ancestors. He had the honour of knighthood conferred upon

him, with two hundred other persons of distinction, in the 34th Edward I., when Prince Edward was also knighted with great solemnity. In the last year of Edward I. his lordship was in the expedition made into Scotland, wherein that victorious prince died. In the 4th of the next reign, he was again in Scotland, and so much in favour with Edward II. that he obtained a free grant of the castle and honour of Peke, in Derbyshire, with the whole forest of High Peke, to hold during his life, in as full and ample manner as William Peverel anciently enjoyed the same, before it came to the kings of England by escheat. In the ensuing year we find the Earl of Surrey, along with the Earl of Pembroke, besieging Piers Gaveston, in Scarborough Castle, and forcing him to surrender. He was, some years afterwards, one of those who invested the castle of Pontefract, at that time held by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and his adherents; and he subsequently sat in judgment upon that eminent personage. In the reign of Edward III. the earl appears constantly engaged in the wars of Scotland. He married 1st, Joane, daughter of Count de Barre, by whom he had no issue. In the lifetime of this lady he cohabited publicly with Maud de Nereford, a person of good family in Norfolk, but was at length obliged, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to break off the connection. He obtained a divorce, however, from his countess, on the ground of a pre-contract with this Maud. He married, subsequently, Johanna, eldest daughter and heir of Malise, 7th Earl of Strathern, in Scotland, and had a grant of that earldom from Edward Baliol. His wife was forfeited by Robert Bruce, for marrying the Earl of Surrey. He died June 30, 1347, aged sixty-one, when, as he left no legitimate issue, his sister Alice, wife of Edmund Fitz-Alan, 8th Earl of Arundel, became his heir, and conveyed the great estates of the Warrens (Plantagenets) to the Fitz-Alan family. Her ladyship's son, Richard Fitz-Alan, 9th Earl of Arundel, is considered to have succeeded to the Earldom of Surrey, and so styled himself; but it is doubtful if he were ever formally invested with that dignity. He died in 1375, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl

of Arundel and Surrey, who was beheaded in 1397, when all his honours became forfeited.

We can find no reliable trace of the three other gentlemen mentioned in the royal mandamus prohibiting the holding of this Newmarket meeting.

As to the local and manorial history of the town and the vicinity of Newmarket, the Rev. Dr. Dibden, writing in 1832, says that in 1227, a contagion or plague having broken out at Exning, its *market* was removed to the adjoining village, and hence the origin of the appellation New-market. He, unfortunately, gives no authority for that assertion (which we are unable to substantiate); nevertheless, we are in duty bound to pay the highest respect to any statement emanating from the erudite author of the Bibliographical Decameron. The earliest contemporary allusion to Newmarket is in the grant of Henry III. to Richard de Argentine, dated February 17, 1226–7, of which the following is a literal translation:—

"For Richard de Argent.' Henry the King, etc., greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this our present charter have confirmed to our beloved and faithful Richard de Argent' and his heirs that the Sheriff of Suffolk every year for ever should come once to his manor of Newmarket to make view of frank-pledge in his court of the same town of his men in that manor. We have granted also to the said Richard and his heirs the amercements if there be any from the aforesaid view of frank-pledge. So that the said Sheriff of Suffolk should not take nor have anything from those amercements. We have granted also to the said Richard and his heirs for ever that they should have

every week a market on Tuesday at his manor of Halesworth' and that they should have every year at his aforesaid manor of Newmarket a fair to last for three days namely on the vigil of the Apostles Simon and Jude and on the day and on the morrow with all liberties and free customs to such market and fair belonging. So that the aforesaid market and fair be not to the injury of the neighbouring markets and fairs. Wherefore we will and firmly command that the aforesaid Sheriff of Suffolk every year for ever should come once to the aforesaid manor of Newmarket to make view of frank-pledge in the court of the said Richard and of his heirs of the said town of his men remaining in that manor, that the amercements forthcoming from that view of frank-pledge should belong to the said Richard and his heirs. So that the said Sheriff should not take nor have anything from those amercements and that the said Richard and his heirs should have every week a market at his Manor of Halesworth' on Tuesday and every year a fair at his manor of Newmarket to last for three days with all liberties and free customs and acquittances to such market and fair belonging as is aforesaid. These being witnesses E. of London, J. of Bath, P. of Winchester, R. of Sarum, Bishops, H. de Burg' Earl of Kent our Justiciar, W. earl of Albemarle, W. de Eynef' our steward, H. de Capella and others. Given by our hand &c. at Westminster the 17th day of February in the year &c. the 11th."—Charter Roll, 11 Henry III., part 1., mem. 26., No. 18. MS. Public Record Office.

In a Close Roll of 11 Henry III., dated at Bur-

well, April 21, 1227 (where the king was then present), a slight difference will be observed—

℣ *Rico de Argentoein.* D'N's Rex concessit Ričo de Argentoein q'd feriā quā consuevit hr̃e ap̃ maneriu suu de Novo M'cato vigil' 't die't i c^a^stino Sc̃i Egidii usq' ad etate dñi R. vigil' 't die'^t^ i c^a^stino Ap̃loz Simōis 't Judé, nisi 'tç. Et mand' est Vic̃ Suff q'd feriā illā clamari 't ten'i faciat sic̃ predc̃m est. T.R.ap̃ Burewell,* xxj.die Ap^l^l.—*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, Vol. ii., p. 106*a*.

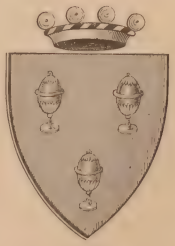
In 1293 Reginald de Argentine, 1st Baron de Argentine obtained the confirmation of the grant made by Henry III. to his predecessor in the year 1227:—

"For Reginald de Argentem. The King to the Archbishops etc. greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this our charter have confirmed to our beloved and faithful Reginald de Argentem that he and his heirs for ever may have a fair at his manor of Newmarket in the county of Suffolk every year to last for eight days namely on the supervigil and on the vigil and on the day and on the morrow of St. Barnabas the apostle and during the four days following. And a fair at his manor of Haleswarth' in the county

* Burwell lies about four miles north-west of Newmarket. Burwell Castle, of which some vestiges remain, was besieged in the reign of King Stephen by Geffory de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who lost his life by a wound from an arrow before its walls. The manor of Tiptofts, in this parish, takes its name from the baronial family of Tiptoft, who possessed it in the year 1277, before which time it belonged to the family of Camois. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, died seised of this and other manors in the neighbourhood, in 1470. From the Earl of Worcester, these estates passed by descent to Sir Thomas Lovell, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth. In 1632 the property was held by the Marche family; and about the beginning of the present century it belonged to the Earl of Aylesford, whose father acquired it by marriage with the younger daughter of Charles, Duke of Somerset. A memorable and most melancholy incident happened at Burwell in the year 1727, when seventy-nine persons, being spectators at a puppet-show, exhibited in a barn, lost their lives in consequence of a fire which destroyed the building, when the audience were burnt to death.

aforesaid every year to last for four days namely on the vigil and on the day and on the morrow of St. Luke the Evangelist and during one day following. Unless those fairs be to the injury of the neighbouring fairs. Wherefor we will and firmly command for us and our heirs that the aforesaid Reginald and his heirs for ever may have the aforesaid fairs at their manors aforesaid with all liberties and free customs to such fairs belonging. Unless those fairs be to the injury of the neighbouring fairs as is aforesaid. These being witnesses the venerable fathers J. Archbishop of Dublin, J. of Winchester, A. of Durham and W. of Ely, Bishops, Edmund our brother, Edmund Earl of Cornwall our kinsman, John de Warren Earl of Surrey, Reginald de Grey, John de St. John, Walter de Bello Campo, Richard de Bosco and others. Given by the king's hand at Westminster the 27th day of June. By the King himself, Hugh de Veer informing him."—Charter Roll, 21 Edward I., mem. 2, No. 10. MS. P.R.O.

Before proceeding further we will now give a brief biographical account of the lords of the manor of Newmarket.



The earliest documentary reference to the ARGENTINE family in the county of Suffolk occurs in the 5th year of Stephen, A.D. 1140, when Maud, widow of Reginald de Argentine, obtained licence from the king to marry again, she having to pay that monarch a composition for her dowry.

This Reginald was succeeded by another REGINALD DE ARGENTINE, sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon,

from the fifth to the eighth years of Richard I. (A.D. 1193—1197), and in the next year for the counties of Hertford and Essex, for one half-year only. Adhering to the patriotic barons, he obtained, in 1215, letters of safe-conduct during his mission to King John, to treat of peace on behalf of the barons, but nothing came of this negociation, although it eventually resulted in the consummation of Magna Charta. In consequence of the part Reginald de Argentine took in this rebellion his lands were seized by the king, but soon after Henry III.'s accession (A.D. 1216), compounding for his estates, command was given to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire to give him possession of all his lands in that county, which had been sequestrated during the first of the baron's wars. He died about the year 1223, and was succeeded by Richard de Argentine, who acquired the manor of Newmarket by his marriage with Cassandra, daughter of Robert de L'Isle. In the 8th Henry III. (A.D. 1223), he, being sheriff of the counties of Essex and Hertford, was constituted governor of the castle of Hertford. He was likewise sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, and subsequently, in the 11th Henry III., one of the stewards of the king's household, at which time he obtained the grant of the fair for his manor of Newmarket. Three years after this, Richard, "being a valliant knight and valliant in arms," went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and dying there in the year 1246, was succeeded by his son and heir,

Giles de Argentine, a knight also of great valour, who in the 16th Henry III. (A.D. 1231), being with the king in an expedition made that year into Wales, fell into the hands of the enemy in a sharp conflict near Montgomery. Ten years afterwards he was summoned "with other great men of the time," to attend the king with horse and arms into Gascony, and the following year he was appointed governor of Windsor Castle; but soon after, being dissatisfied with the injurious rule of the king's favourites, he joined the patriotic barons under Simon de Montfort * (a patron saint of the chase in

* It is a popular error to call St. Hubert the patron saint of the chase, least so far as relates to our island. No doubt Hubert was considered

England), at the battle of Lewes, May 14, 1264, and having defeated the royalists and taken the king prisoner, he was elected by them one of the nine counsellors to assume the government of the kingdom. The barons being, however, defeated at the subsequent battle of Evesham, August 4,

as such in his native country; but St. Denis and some others were also looked upon, and interceded to, by sportsmen in a like capacity. In England, before the Norman Conquest, several Anglo-Saxon saints were worshipped and supplicated by sportsmen in those days, when their intercession was deemed necessary for the due success of any venatic undertaking. But as these local patron saints of the chase in course of time became unfashionable, or forgotten, or supplanted by others, as the case may be, we will not further refer to them, but mention a few of their successors in more recent times. Thomas à Becket (who was a mighty hunter in his lifetime) was undoubtedly looked upon by our sporting predecessors during the Plantagenet era as the patron saint of the chase *par excellence*. If any one had a sick hawk or hound which did not recover under ordinary human remedies, he forthwith made a wax model of the animal, and despatched it to the shrine of the saint at Canterbury, where it was solemnly offered, the result, of course, being a miraculous cure. This procedure became so common and necessary, that we find an officer attached to the royal hunting establishment in those days, whose principal duty it was to attend to such matters. Sometimes the wax model was sent to the shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford, who was also a patron saint of the chase. Perhaps the most extraordinary of all was Simon de Montfort, the celebrated Earl of Leicester, who, although not canonized, was looked upon as a saint from the time of Edward I. until about the accession of Richard II., when, for some reason or other, he became unfashionable with English sportsmen, and ceased to be supplicated. Nevertheless, he was once in great favour with sportsmen, and a list of the miracles accomplished by his intercession on hawks, hounds, horses, etc., is preserved in the Cottonian MS. in the British Museum—the cures effected being vouched for by numerous witnesses of undoubted veracity. Apart from the supernatural attributes of the patron saint of the chase, we may mention, in conclusion, that Simon de Montfort was famous as a huntsman. So devoted was he to the pleasures of the chase, that his seal depicts him mounted on his hunter in full gallop, winding his horn, cheering on his foxhounds, which are represented in full cry. This seal of the great patriotic baron is attached to a deed dated 1259, preserved in the royal archives at Paris. The example we believe to be unique, as in those days it was the custom of knights and nobles, kings and princes, to be represented on their seals armed *cap-à-pie*. But "the founder of the House of Commons," as he is sometimes termed, preferred to appear on his seal in the costume of Diana rather than the uniform of Mars; and, as he was the M.F.H. of Warwickshire and Leicestershire over six hundred years ago, the seal gives us, in miniature, the oldest picture of foxhunting in England now extant.

1265, Argentine's lands, and those of his son Reginald, "who had the honour of assisting in that insurrection," were sequestrated. This Sir Giles married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert de Aiguillon, Knight, and died in 1283, possessed of the manor of Great Wymondeley, Cambridgeshire, which he held by grand serjeantry, viz. "to serve the king upon the day of his coronation with a silver cup."

His son and successor Reginald de Argentine, 1st Baron de Argentine, who, doing homage, had livery of all his father's lands in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertford. In 1293 he obtained the confirmation of the charter granted to Sir Richard de Argentine in 1227 for a fair yearly "on the eve, the day, and the morrow after the Feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, and four days ensuing, at his manor of Newmarket, in the county of Suffolk," etc. He was summoned to Parliament in the 25th Edward I. (January 26, 1297). He married Lora, daughter of Hugh de Vere, 4th Earl of Oxford, and, dying in 1307, was succeeded by his son,

Sir John de Argentine, 2nd baron, who had livery of his father's lands, but was never summoned to Parliament. He married, 1st, Joane, daughter and heir of Sir Roger Bryan, and had issue, Joane, who married Sir John le Boteler,* and was

* The Butler family formerly held a moiety of this manor. Davy gives the following list of those lords :—33 Edward III., A.D. 1359 . . . Botiller : Hawise, widow of Ralph Botiler, for life, ob. 35 Edward III., A.D. 1361 : Sir Edward Boteler, Knt., ob. 14 Henry IV. In the Inquisition, taken at the death of this knight, it is recorded that he was seised of the moiety of the manor of Exning and Newmarket, called Botiler's Manor, and the moiety of one market, held on Tuesday every week, extending into Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and the moiety of view of frank pledge held on the Feast of St. Peter de Vincula ; the moiety of two general courts to be held within a month of Easter and Michaelmas ; the moiety of the profits of the fair held, on St. Barnabas' Day, and that Philip Botiler was his cousin and next heir, *i.e.* son of Philip, son of Ralph, brother of John, father of the said Edward, age 24. 14 Henry IV. A.D. 1412, Philip Botelier (above) : Anthony Botyller . . . 11 Henry VIII., A.D. 1519, Emma, his widow, remarried to Christopher Sandford, Esq. : 22 Henry VIII., A.D. 1530, Sir Philip Butler, Knt., and Elizabeth his wife : 11 Elizabeth, A.D. 1569, William Alington, Esq., who released all his right to Sir Giles Alington, Knt., ob. 1586 : 28 Elizabeth, 1586, Sir Giles Alington, Knt., grandson and heir, ob. 1638.

mother of Sir Edward Boteler; Elizabeth, who married Sir William le Botiller, brother of Sir John; and Dionysia, co-heir of her mother. He married, 2ndly, Agnes, daughter and co-heir of William Bereford, of Burton, and, dying in 1318, was succeeded by his son, then but six months old.

Sir John de Argentine, 3rd baron, who was knighted in 1331, but was never summoned to Parliament. He married Margaret, daughter and heir of Robert D'Arcy, of Stretton, and by her had issue, Maud, married to Sir Eudo or Ivo Fitz Warren; Joane, married to Sir Bartholomew Naunton; Elizabeth, married to Sir Baldwin St. George, Knt., who was ancestor of the St. Georges of Hatley St. George, Cambridgeshire. This John Lord de Argentine died prior to March 25th, in the year 1383, without legitimate male issue, when the barony fell into abeyance amongst his daughters and co-heirs.

Sir William Argentine (ob. 1418), illegitimate son of the last Lord Argentine, was given the manor of Wymondeley. He married Isabel, daughter of Sir William Kerdeston, by whom he left an only son,

John de Argentine, at whose decease, in 1423, the manor of Wymondeley was carried by his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, upon her marriage with William Alington, Esquire, ancestor of the Lords Alington. This manor of Wimley, or Wymondeley, is said to have fallen to the Argentines by marriage with the heiress of Fitz Tees, who derived themselves from David D'Argenton, a Norman, who came over with William the Conqueror. We must not omit to mention two other distinguished members of this family. In the year 1237, Reginald de Argentine, a knight-templar, was standard-bearer of the Christian army in the great battle against the Turks, near Antioch, in the Holy Land, and carried it till, his hands and legs being broken, he was there slain.

Equally glorious was the end of Sir Giles Argentine,

"Of chivalry the flower and pride,"

at the battle of Bannockburn, June 24th, 1314. Having persuaded Edward II. to retreat when the issue of the day was

hopeless, and having seen the king out of danger, he bade him farewell, and, turning his horse, rode back to the enemy, shouting that he was not used to fly, charged into the thick of the fight, and soon met that death which he sought.

Sir Walter Scott gives the following poetic picture of the defeat of Edward II., and the fate of Argentine :—

Already scatter'd o'er the plain,
Reproof, command, and counsel vain,
The rearward squadrons fled amain,
Or made but doubtful stay ;—
But when they mark'd the seeming show
Of fresh and fierce and marshall'd foe,
The boldest broke array.
O give their hapless prince his due !
In vain the royal Edward threw
His person 'mid the spears,
Cried, "Fight!" to terror and despair,
Menaced, and wept, and tore his hair,
And cursed their caitiff fears ;
Till Pembroke turn'd his bridle rein,
And forced him from the fatal plain.
With them rode Argentine, until
They gain'd the summit of the hill,
But quitted there the train :—
"In yonder field a gage I left—
I must not live of fame bereft ;
I needs must turn again.
Speeds hence, my Liege, for on your trace
The fiery Douglas takes the chase.
I know his banner well.
God send my Sovereign joy and bliss,
And many a happier field than this !—
Once more, my Liege, farewell."

Again he faced the battle-field,—
Wildly they fly, are slain, or yield,
"Now then," he said, and couch'd his spear,
"My course is run, the goal is near :
One effort more, one brave career,
Must close this race of mine."
Then in his stirrups rising high,
He shouted loud his battle-cry,
"Saint James for Argentine !"
And, of the bold pursuers, four
The gallant knight from saddle bore ;

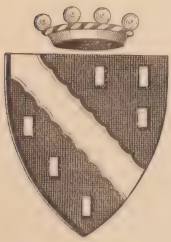
But not unharm'd—a lance's point
Has found his breastplate's loosen'd joint,
An axe has razed his crest ;
Yet still on Colonsay's fierce lord,
Who press'd the chase with gory sword,
He rode with spear in rest,
And through his bloody tartans bored,
And through his gallant breast.
Nail'd to the earth, the mountaineer
Yet writhed him up against the spear,
And swung his broadsword round !
—Stirrup, steel-boot, and cuish gave way,
Beneath that blow's tremendous sway,
The blood gush'd from the wound ;
And the grim Lord of Colonsay
Hath turn'd him on the ground,
And laugh'd in death-pang, that his blade
The mortal thrust so well repaid.

Now toil'd the Bruce, the battle done,
To use his conquest boldly won ;
And gave command for horse and spear
To press the Southron's scatter'd rear,
Nor let his broken force combine,
—When the war-cry of Argentine
Fell faintly on his ear ;
"Save, save his life," he cried, "O save
The kind, the noble, and the brave !"
The squadrons round free passage gave,
The wounded knight drew near ;
He raised his red cross * shield no more,
Helm, cuish, and breastplate stream'd with gore,
Yet, as he saw the king advance,
He strove e'en then to couch his lance—
The effort was in vain !
The spur-stroke fail'd to rouse the horse ;
Wounded and weary, in mid course
He stumbled on the plain.
Then foremost was the generous Bruce
To raise his head, his helm to loose ;—
"Lord Earl, the day is thine !

"My Sovereign's charge, and adverse fate,
Have made our meeting all too late ;
Yet this may Argentine,

* This is obviously wrong. The Argentine arms were *Gu., three covered cups. Arg.*

As boon from ancient comrade, crave—
A Christian's mass, a soldier's grave."
Bruce press'd his dying hand—its grasp
Kindly replied : but, in his clasp,
It stiffen'd and grew cold—
"And, O farewell !" the victor cried,
"Of chivalry the flower and pride,
The arm in battle bold,
The courteous mien, the noble race,
The stainless faith, the manly face !—
Bid Ninian's convent light their shrine,
For late-wake of De Argentine.
O'er better knight on death-bier laid,
Torch never gleam'd nor mass was said."



The ALINGTON family were lords of the manor of Newmarket, in Suffolk, after the Argentines, from the time of Edward IV. until the reign of George III., when the manor, with Cheveley and other property, went into the possession of the Manners, Dukes of Rutland.

The ALINGTON family, like that of Argentine, also dates as far back as the Conquest, when SIR HILDEBRAND DE ALINGTON, Under Marshal of William I. at the battle of Hastings, had Alington Castle by gift of that king.

SIR ALAN DE ALINGTON "was in great favour with William Rufus and a great devisor of building, and was thought to be the chief doer for the building of Westminster Hall, which then was Palatium Regium, and by King Henry I. converted to the use it now is, and much beautified by Edward III." His son,

SIR SOLOMON DE ALINGTON, Knight, "was in great authority in the reign of Henry I., and builded the Castle of Alington, where he erected one notable tower after his own name, called the 'Solomon's Tower.'" His descendant,

SIR WILLIAM ALINGTON, Knight, Privy Councillor to King Henry VI., treasurer of Normandy in the time of

Henry V. and Henry VI., and also of Ireland, married Joane, daughter and heir of Sir Wm. Burgh, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench (2 Richard II. A.D. 1378), and had a son,

William Alington, of Horseheath,* in Cambridgeshire, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon in the year 1437, whose eldest son, William Alington, Esq., married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John de Argentine, and acquired with her the manor of Wymondley, in the county of Hertford, held in grand sergeanty, by service of presenting the first cup at the coronation of the kings of England, which service was claimed and allowed at the coronation of King James II., and has, until recent times, been performed by the lords of that manor. By this alliance he also obtained the manor of Newmarket in Suffolk, which remained apparently in the family until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the estate passed to the Dukes of Rutland by the marriage of Frances, eldest daughter of Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset, in 1750, with John, Marquis of Granby. She died in 1760.† From William Alington and Elizabeth his wife was derived Sir Giles Alington, who married Mary, only daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Gardiner, Knight, who had several children, of whom three of the younger sons, George, John, and Richard, were the founders of families; George Alington, the second son, being the direct ancestor of the Alingtons of Swinhope, county Lincoln, whose present

* Horseheath was held by petit-sergeanty under the Earls of Oxford by the service of holding the earl's stirrup, whenever he should mount his horse in the presence of the holder of the manor.

† In Davy's list of the lords of this manor he places :—William Alington, Esq., son and heir of John Alington, ob. 20 Edward IV., A.D. 1480. Sir Giles Alington, Knt., son and heir. William Alyngton, Gent., released it to Sir Giles Alington, Knt., son and heir of Sir Giles, ob. 11 Elizabeth, A.D. 1569. Sir Giles Alington, Knt., grandson and heir, ob. 28 Elizabeth, A.D. 1586. In 1717, Hildebrand Alington, Esq., presented to the living. Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset, ob. 1750, and gave it to Frances, his eldest daughter, who married John, Marquis of Granby. She died 1760. Charles, Duke of Rutland, son and heir, ob. 1787. John Henry, Duke of Rutland, son and heir.

representative, George Marmaduke Alington, Esq., of Swinhope, is also male representative of the old Lords Alington. Sir Giles was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir Giles Alington, of Horseheath, High Sheriff of Cambridgeshire in 1530–31, and of Huntingdon in 1545-46. He appears to have attended Henry VIII. as Master of the Ordnance at the siege of Boulogne, by the inscription of a clock which he brought from that siege, and affixed over the offices at Horseheath Hall, in which was the alarm bell of the garrison of Boulogne.

This Sir Giles sumptuously entertained Queen Elizabeth at Horseheath, during her progress from London to Norwich, in the year 1578. He died in 1586, outliving his son Robert and grandson Giles.

Giles Alington, son of the last-mentioned Giles, succeeded his great-grandfather, and was knighted by James I., at the Charter-house, London, May 11, 1603. By Dorothy, his wife, daughter of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Leicester, he had issue Thomas, Giles, James, and William, and six daughters.

Sir Giles Alington, his second, and eldest surviving, son, succeeded him in 1638. He married "a half-sister of one of his nieces (the daughter of his sister, Mrs. Dalton)," for which breach of the forbidden degrees of consanguinity he was fined, in the Star Chamber, £12,000, his issue declared illegitimate, and he was condemned to do penance at St. Paul's Cross, London, and in St. Mary's church at Cambridge, in 1631; the same punishment being inflicted on the lady, who died of the small-pox in 1644.* Sir Edward Peyton asserts

* The Rev. Joseph Mead, writing from Christ Church College, Cambridge, to Sir Martin Stuteville, May 20, 1631, says: "Sir Giles Alington being stripped of all protection of the Common Law, by eight bishops and four of the other Commissioners [of the Court of High Commission, *anglice* 'The Old Powdering Tub'] was fined to the King £12,000; bound in a bond of £20,000 never to cohabit or come in her private company more; to be committed to prison, or to put in sufficient bail till both of them have undergone the censure of the court, which enjoins them to do penance both at St. Paul's Cross and at Great St. Mary's, in Cambridge. Besides his father-in-law and brother-in-law, Mr. Dalton was fined £2000 for having procured the licence, and hardly

that the fine imposed upon Sir Giles in the Star Chamber was shared between Queen Henrietta Maria and the Earl of Holland. In consequence of the issue of this marriage having been bastardized, the estates came to Sir Giles's only surviving brother,

William Alington, Esq., who was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, as Baron Alington of Killard, July 28, 1642.* His lordship married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Natheniel Tollemache, Bart., of Helingham, by whom he had five sons and three daughters, of whom Elizabeth, the eldest, married Charles Seymour, 2nd Lord Tronbridge, and had surviving issue Francis and Charles, successively Dukes of Somerset. It was partly through this alliance, and partly by purchase, that the manor of Newmarket eventually passed to the Seymours, and again, from that family, by marriage, to the Manners, Dukes of Rutland.

Lord Alington was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, William Alington, 2nd Baron, who was created a peer of

escaped the point of perjury. The eight Bishops were—my Lord's Grace of Canterbury [Dr. Abbot]; the Bishops of London [Dr. Laud]; of Winchester [Dr. Neile]; of Norwich [Dr. White]; of Coventry and Lichfield [Dr. Morton]; of Bangor [Dr. David Dolben]; of Rochester [Dr. John Bowle]; and of Gloucester [Dr. Goodman]. It was the solemnest, the gravest, and severest censure that ever, they say, was made in that Court. All the bishops made speeches, and all very good ones, many excellent and learned, wherin the Bishop of London bore the bell from them all, demonstrating the foulness and heinousness of the crime."

* This Lord Alington, who was appointed Constable of the Tower, during pleasure, with a salary of £1000 a year, payable quarterly, by patent dated Westminster, April 24, 1672, built a magnificent mansion at Horseheath, after the design of Webb, in 1665, at an expense of £70,000. This estate was sold with the house, about the year 1687, for only £42,000, to John Bromley, Esq., who expended £30,000 more in building, and died in 1707. His grandson was, in 1741, created Lord Montfort of Horseheath. Thomas, the second Lord Montfort, having involved himself in embarrassments, was obliged to sell this estate in 1776, when the splendid mansion, on which such large sums of money had been expended, was sold for the materials: it had been stripped of its furniture the preceding year, and several valuable portraits by Walker, Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller, and other masters of the early English school, were removed.

England, December 5, 1682, by the title of BARON ALINGTON of WYMONDLEY, in the county of Herts. By his third wife, Diana, daughter of William Russell, 1st Duke of Bedford, he had one surviving son, Giles, and two daughters, Diana and Catherine; the former married Sir George Warburton, Bart., of Arley, Cheshire, and died in 1705, leaving an only daughter, Diana, who married Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart., of Eaton, Cheshire, but had no issue. Sir Richard, who had acquired a third part of the Alington estates in Hertfordshire with his wife, purchased the remainder, and thus became possessed of the entire manor of Wymondley, which entitled him to present the first cup of silver filled with wine at the coronations of George II. and George III.* the said cups being retained by him as his fee. His lordship died in 1684, and was succeeded by his son,

GILES ALINGTON, 3rd Baron of the Irish creation and 2nd of the English; but, dying in 1691, the English peerage expired, while that of Ireland reverted to his uncle, the Hon. Hildebrand Alington, son of the 1st Lord, as 4th Baron, who died, *s. p.*, in 1722, when the Irish barony of Alington of Killard became extinct.

The Hon. Catherine Alington, sister and co-heiress of Giles, 3rd Lord Alington, married Sir Nathaniel Napier, Bart., of More Crichel, M.P. for Dorsetshire, *temp.* William III. and Anne, and after her death, her daughter Diana became eventually sole heiress of the Napiers and Alingtons. She married Humphrey Sturt, Esq., of Horton, county Dorset, whose descendant, Henry Gerard Sturt, Esq., M.P., was raised to the peerage as BARON ALINGTON of Crichel, county Dorset, January 15, 1876.

An inquisition took place in Newmarket in the

* "At the coronation of George IV., the late William Wiltshire, Esq., uncle to the present lord of the manor, claimed and was allowed the right of presenting the first cup, and afterwards retaining it for his fee. At the coronation of William IV., and of her present Majesty, the ancient ceremonies of the State Banquet were dispensed with; hence the lord of the manor has been deprived of two handsome silver-gilt cups."—Cussans, Hist. Herts, vol. ii., p. 51, *note*.

reign of Edward I., from which we learn that the prior of Fordham had view of frank-pledge, assise of bread and ale, and five tenants in the town, whereby the king lost 3*d.* war-penny. The jury also found that a robber came into Newmarket and stole a horse worth 14*s.*, whereupon Nicholas le Rees, the king's bailiff, came and took the man and the horse, both of which he detained in custody. It seems that during his captivity the thief stole the bailiff's purse and belt and escaped with the plunder. Subsequently the prior of Fordham claimed the horse as his property, and recovered the animal, while the thief escaped the clutches of the law. This trivial incident proves that horse-stealing (which flourished at Newmarket in later times) was an ancient calling.

In the reign of Edward III., by a similar inquisition, it transpired that certain persons held lands by the service of bringing footmen to serve the king in the Welsh wars, belonging to Norfolk and Suffolk, from the Ditch of St. Edmund (*fossatode St. Edmundi*) without Newmarket, which is the only contemporaneous instance we have met where the Devil's Ditch is so called.

Ancient records make mention of a manor here, which belonged to the priory of Fordham, in Cambridgeshire; also the manor of Botelers, which belonged to the family of that name.

In the 35th of King Edward III., Hawise, relict of Ralph Boteler, held for the term of her life the moiety of a messuage, forty acres of land, two of meadow, and 30*s.* rent, with the appurtenances, in Newmarket and

Exning, of the king *in capite*, by service of one espear per annum.*

The manor of Wyke's Place belonged to the Slades; and a manor which lay in this town was in possession of the prior and monks of Thetford. In 1406, William Knight sold to Edmund Eldehall, of Wood Ditton, Esq., and others, all his lands in Newmarket, laying in the manor of the prior of Thetford, called Monks Wyke, which lands, in 1412, were settled by the said Edmund, on the above prior.†

The alien priory of Neron and Newmarket leased out to farm during the war. 4 Henry VI., A.D. *c.* 1425.—Rot. Parl., vol. iv., 313 b.

The alien priory of Newmarket, late belonging to the abbey of St. Ebrolphis in Normandy, granted to the priory of Jesus of Bethlehem, Shene. 38 Henry VI., A.D. *c.* 1459.—*Ib.*, vol. v., p. 365 b.

Matthew Paris (who was a native of Cambridgeshire) mentions, that when Henry III. besieged and took Northampton, on Passion Sunday, 1264, among the distinguished knight bannerets taken prisoners was Adam de Newmarket, whom the king kept in strict custody. But whether this Adam belonged to our Eden is by no means certain.‡

* Page, "Sussex Traveller." † *Ibid.*

‡ Close R. 13 H. 3, m. 13*d*. Adam de Novo Mercato, Walter de Soureby, and William de Barton, appointed justices to hear the appeals of Jordan de Riton, John Fatuus, Godfrey de Pickering, and William de Savage, approvers in York jail.

18 Hen. 3. Close R., m. 27. John de Novo Mercato, official of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, commanded to cause to be restored to him the jewels which a certain chaplain stole from him in his pilgrimage to St. James, which chaplain the said official kept in prison.

19 Hen. 3. Close R., m. 6*d*. Adam de Newmarket and five others appointed to receive the aid granted to the king in the co. York.

Newmarket gave birth to Thomas Merks,[7] or Markes, who became Bishop of Carlisle. This notable native of Newmarket, in the dark ages, was famous for his steady adherence to Richard II. when that unfortunate royal turfite was bereft of friends and followers. Shakespeare introduces this distinguished ecclesiastic in his drama of Richard II., in Act III. scenes 2 and 3, and Act V. scenes 1 and 4, to which we beg to refer the reader, while we must confine our brief memoir and the "high sparks of honour" which proud Bolingbroke was constrained to admire in his "enemy," to more authentic historical authorities.

[7] Thomas Merks, fifteenth Bishop of Carlisle, was a monk of Westminster, and Master of Divinity. He had restitution of the temporalities of this see from King Richard II., and a provision made to him by the Pope in the year 1397. In 1399, in the will of Richard II., Thomas, Bishop of Carlisle, is named as one of the five prelates whom that racing monarch joined with his nephew, the Duke of Surrey, and others of his royal relations, in the executorship, to each of whom he bequeathed a gold ring of the value of £20. And he was the only bishop who took letters of protection from that king, subjecting himself thereby to personally attend his Majesty to Ireland in May, 1399: an unfortunate expedition, as during his absence Bolingbroke arrived in England and usurped the throne. The latter having been crowned in the month of September, Henry IV. assembled his first Parliament at Westminster in the ensuing month (October), in which this distinguished and faithful native of Newmarket was the only one bold enough to say publicly what others silently thought, concerning the treatment which

Joan de Novo Mercato, widow of Adam de N. M., claims dowery of certain land, etc., in Venteleney. 18 Edward I., A.D. 1290.—Rot. Parl. v. 1, 62*a*.

Richard II. had met with. To the astonishment of the Lancastrians, the bishop rose and demanded for Richard what ought not to be refused to the meanest criminal, the right of being confronted with his accusers; and for Parliament what it might justly claim, the opportunity of learning from the king's own mouth whether the resignation of the crown, which had been attributed to him, were his own spontaneous act. He urged everything that could with propriety be said in behalf of the deposed king and against the usurping Bolingbroke. But he stood alone; no one was found to second his motion; the House voted the deposition of Richard; and eight commissioners ascending a tribunal erected before the throne, pronounced him degraded from the state and authority of king, on the ground that he notoriously deserved such punishment, and acknowledged it under his hand and seal on the preceding day. Sir William Thirnyng, Chief Justice, was appointed to notify the sentence to the royal captive, who meekly replied that he looked not after the royal authority, but hoped his cousin, Bolingbroke, would be a good lord to him. On the 10th of January, 1399–1400 following, Bishop Merks was committed for high treason and the new king (Henry IV.) gave particular direction to his judges with respect to their proceedings against bishops on such trials. He was soon after deprived of his bishopric. After having some time continued a prisoner in the Tower, Henry IV. consented to his removal, June 23, 1400, to Westminster Abbey. In the following years the king was still more compassionate towards him, and by his letters patent granted him licence to obtain from the Pope benefices (episcopal excepted) to the yearly amount of 100 marks. On the 13th of August, 1404, he was instituted to the rectory of Todenham, Gloucestershire; and we find that on January 13, 1409, Robert Ely was admitted to the said rectory, upon the death of Thomas Merks. Thus ended the career of the good prelate, with whom the town of Newmarket was more or less associated four hundred years ago.

Although there is no actual authority for the

assumption, it may, however, be just within the bounds of probability, that Henry VII. paid a fleeting visit to Newmarket when he and his son, Prince Henry, were at Wilberton, where they were entertained by Archdeacon Alcock, for several days, during the progress of the royal pilgrims to Ely, whither the king was then journeying, for the purpose of offering his devotions at the shrine of St. Etheldreda.

BOOK II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

Henry VIII. and the Turf—His race-meetings at Eltham, Windsor, etc.—Other notable Turfites of the period—The King's trainer—Training secrets—The jockeys—Their travelling expenses—Wages and emoluments—Apparel: cap, jacket, hosen—The King's racing colours—More training secrets—*Sir Thomas Cheyney—Lord Dacre of the South—The Earl of Kildare—The Abbot of Glastonbury—Charles Brandon—Thomas Brandon, Duke of Suffolk—Sir George Lawson—Sir Henry Morris*, and other Turfites of the period—Chester—Rules and regulations for the races—The silver bell—Other sports during the meeting—The Rodeo—Derivation of the name—The legend relating to it—Horse-racing in Yorkshire—Doncaster, Gaterly, Acomb Moor, Hambleton, York—Racing at Metz—Curious matches between Richard de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and Seigneur Dex—A novel training secret—Incidents and results—*Richard de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk*—Presents of race-horses of the Mantua breed sent to Henry VIII.—Altabello and Governatore—Worth their weight in silver—Fame of the Mantua stud—Other foreign horses imported—The Royal stud at Eltham—Importation of Barbs in the reign of Edward VI.—Superiority and abundance of English horses at this period—Exportation of horses prohibited—Progress of the Turf in England and Scotland during the reign of Elizabeth—The Annals:—Croydon—Projected Royal visit to the races in 1574—Does not take place—List of the Queen's guests—How accommodated at Croydon—Difficulty of obtaining lodgings there during the races—Royal visits in 1585, 1587, and 1588—The royal stand—Its cost—Other expenses incident to the Queen's visits—Salisbury—The races instituted—The gold bell—Its value—Won by the Earl of Cumberland—Conditions of the race—The patrons of the meeting—Further particulars—The golden snaffle given by the

Earl of Essex—The gold bell given by the Earl of Pembroke—Memoirs of the Earls of *Pembroke, Cumberland, Essex, Warwick*, Lords *Chandos, Thomas* and *William Howard; Sir Walter Hungerford, John Danvers, Thomas Wroughton, William Courtenay, Mathew Arundel*, and other supporters of the meeting—Doncaster—The meeting established—The stand—Is ordered to be pulled down—The course on Wheatlay Moor—Huntingdon—The races "invented"—The first meeting—The silver bell—Won by Sir Oliver Cromwell—The race—Incidents—*Sir Oliver Cromwell*—Richmond (Yorkshire)—The first meeting in 1576—The cup—Carlisle—The silver-gilt bell—Won by *Sir William Dacre*—Description of the prize—The Turf in Scotland—The Border meetings—Haddington—Peebles—Dumfries—Solway Sands—The fathers of the Turf in Scotland—*Lord Hamilton—David Home*—Teviotdale—Disturbance at the meeting—Racing in London—The metropolitan courses—Conjectures concerning other race-meetings—Popularity of rural sports in the Elizabethan era—Bishop Hall's comments on the Turf—Thoroughbred stallions fed on eggs and oysters—Lord Herbert's animadversions on racing—Allusions to the popularity and the iniquities of the Turf—Shakespeare's allusions to horse-racing—Markham's book on horses—His references to race-horses—Describes the Arabian—His rules for training race-horses—Food and exercising—How to finally prepare a horse for his race—Stable secrets—Going to the post—The last injunction—*Che sara sara—Gervase Markham*—Horse-bread—How made—Statutes relating thereto—Queen Elizabeth's racing establishment—Her Barbary steeds—Number of race-horses in training—Her jockeys—Their wages and emoluments—The royal studs and stables—John Selwyn's equestrian feat—Holinshed's description of horses and horse-breeding in England at this period—Sir Nicholas Arnold's celebrated stud—Statutes relating to horse-breeding—How enforced—NEWMARKET: The town and its vicinity in the sixteenth century—Value of land and houses during this period—The popular inns—The last will and testament of Simon Folkes, junior—Malting—The taxes—Amounts paid by the inhabitants *temps.* Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth—The names of the residents and the business pursued by them about this period—Value of church property in the town in the reign of Henry VIII.—Imprisonment of Queen Elizabeth, when Princess Royal, at Kirtling—Probability that she was a frequent visitor to Newmarket in those days.

In the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII. we find mention of various sums of money given in reward to servants or grooms by whom horses were brought to Eltham, Windsor, and elsewhere to com-

pete on the race-course with those belonging to the king. From these trivial entries we incidentally ascertain that among the patrons of the turf at this date were Sir Thomas Cheyney,[8] Lord Dacre of the South,[9] the Earl of Kildare,[10] the Abbot of Glastonbury,[11] the Duke of Suffolk,[12] Sir George Lawson,[13] Mr. Blount, Mr. Norrys,[14] etc. Powle, the king's trainer, is usually dubbed "keeper of the Barra or Barbary Horses;" the term Barb being applied to race-horses in general, and euphonistically embracing all sorts of Eastern and native blood-stock employed at the stud and on the course.

Some curious items are mentioned in connection with the royal stud. Thus in April, 1532, Powle received 7*s.* 2*d.* for making a bath for one of the Arabian racers then in training at Windsor; and several charges occur for medicine provided for those horses from time to time. In the spring of 1530, the king's watermen received 21*s.* 4*d.* "for waiting" on the day the horses ran. The jockey, if he won, received 24*s.* 8*d.*, while Thomas Ogle, the "Gentleman Rider of the Stables," got a gratuity of 20*s.* by the king's special grace and favour.* Considerable trouble occurred in procuring boys for the purpose of riding the king's race-horses; and the expenses of sending one from the borders of Scotland appear to have amounted to £3 6*s.* 8*d.* In the spring of 1523, Lord Dacre of the North sent one of his jockeys to the king and received for his pains from the Privy Purse

* The annual wages of this functionary was £20, with free allowance of one hackney. The jockeys had 2*s.* a week and 5*d* a day board wages.

£3 6*s.* 8*d.*, which appears to have been the usual allowance in such cases. In the race the jockeys wore distinguishing colours—caps, jackets and hosen, as at the present time.* In March, 1532, "the boye that Ranne the Barbary horse" received a reward of 18*s.* 4*d.*, and the trainer obtained a similar gratuity from the king.

In a bundle of documents relating to the royal stud, at this date, a payment of 2*d.* is charged, on account of a black courser, "for all [oil] for ys legges when rened [for his legs when he ran] agaynst Mr. Karey's geldyng for a wager."†

[8] Governor of Rochester Castle, and afterwards a Knight of the Garter, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Treasurer of the Household to Edward VI. In the 12th Henry VIII. he was one of the challengers against all gentlemen in feats of arms for thirty days at the "joyous and gentle" Field of Cloth of Gold. He was an expert horseman, and stood high in favour of the king, who visited his stud in Kent when on his road to Calais in 1532. Sir Thomas Cheyney died in 1559.

[9] In contradistinction to Lord Dacre of the North. The above was Thomas Fines, who succeeded his grandfather

* "Item the vij daye in February [1530] paide to John Scot for iij doublets of Burges satin and for iij doublets of fustian with the making and the lynyng for the iij boys that runnes the gueldings . . . xxxviij *s.* vj *d.* Item the xxj daye paide to John Scot for making coats and doublets for the running boys of the stabul . . . xlix *s.* Item payde to X'pofer the mylanner for ij Ryding cappes of blac satin and lyned wt blac vellute for the king's grace . . . xx *s.*" Mr. H. Nicholas, F.S.A., by whom these Privy Purse expenses were edited, says: "Horses or geldings, particularly racing horses, and horses 'that did run,' as well as 'riding boys,' clothes bought for the boys 'that ride the running horses,' and riding caps for them, are constantly spoken of; and dogs for the chase were a frequent, and doubtlessly acceptable present."—Introd. xxix.

† Equi. Regis., MS., P.R.O.

in 1484 and died in 1534. A strange fate befell his son George, the last male heir of this family, whose premature death was caused at Thetford "in the house of Sir Richard Fulmerstone, Knight, by meane of a vaunting horse, upon which horses as he meant to have vaunted, and the pins at the feet being not made sure, the horse fell upon him, and bruised the brains out of his head."—Stow's Chron., p. 662.

[10] Gerald Fitz-Gerald, 9th EARL OF KILDARE, who was at this time in England. He had a celebrated stud of, so-called, Hobbies in Ireland, and a fragment of his stud book is still preserved in the MSS. of the British Museum. He died December 12, 1534.

[11] Richard Whiting, the last Lord Abbot of Glastonbury monastery, was preferred to this vast religious house by Cardinal Wolsey in 1524. He governed his monastery with great prudence and judgment; but, unwilling to surrender his abbey to the king, or to lend an ear to any of the solicitations which were offered him, he continued a firm opposer of the Reformation; whereupon he was soon after seized at his manor-house of Sharpham, in 1539, upon the pretence of embezzling the plate belonging to the convent, and without much formal process of law or equity, was drawn from Wells, where he had been condemned at the assizes, to Glastonbury on a hurdle, and hanged with two of his monks, on the hill called the Torr (where St. Michael's church now stands), being hurried out of the world without the least regard had to his age, and not so much as suffered to take leave of his convent. After his execution his head was set upon the abbey gate, and his quarters sent to Wells, Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgwater. He was head of the most ancient abbey in England, the governor of which had precedence of all the abbots in England, till the year 1154, when Pope Adrian IV. (the only Englishman that ever sat in the papal chair) gave that honour to the abbot of St. Albans, in Hertfordshire, in consideration of his having received his education in that monastery, and because the proto-martyr suffered there. He was always a member of

the Upper House of Convocation, and a Parliamentary baron, being summoned by a particular writ to sit "inter pares, proceres et barones regni." His apartment in the abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were sent for education, and returned thence excellently accomplished. Abbot Whiting had bred up nearly three hundred after this manner, besides others of a meaner rank, whom he fitted for the universities. At home his table, attendance, and officers were an honour to the nation; sometimes he even entertained five hundred persons of fashion at a time, and every week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, all the poor of the neighbourhood were relieved by his particular charity, and when he went abroad he was attended by upwards of one hundred persons. His stud was kept at Sharpham; and attached to the abbey, which must have been a paradise for sportsmen, was a lake five miles in circumference, and one and a half miles broad, wherein were "greate abundance of pykes, tenches, roches, and yeles, and dyvers other kyndes of fysshes." There was also a swanery of "xl couple," a heronry "to the nombre of iiii," while pheasants and ground game abounded.

[12] Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law.

[13] Sir George Lawson (son of Sir Thomas Lawson by a daughter of Sir — Dorrell, Knt.), of Little Usworth, in the county of Durham. He married Mabella, daughter and heir of Sir Reginald Carnaby, Knt., by whom he had four sons and three daughters.

[14] "Master Norrys." Afterwards Sir Henry Norris, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber (who had the exclusive privilege of accompanying the king to his bedroom), and Esquire of the body. His career is so well known that it is only necessary to remind the reader that he was convicted of a criminal intercourse with Anne Boleyn, and was consequently condemned and beheaded, to justify the king's divorce.

Chester.

The following orders were issued by the municipal authorities at Chester, in the 31st year of Henry VIII., for the encouragement of archery and the regulation of the sports on Shrove Tuesday, which took place in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, and owed their success in a great degree to the drapers', saddlers', and shoemakers' companies. It is recorded in the memorandum, "That the said occupacioun of shoumacres, which alwayez time out of mannez remembraunce haue geuen and deliuered yearely upon teusday comonly cauled Shrofe teuesday, otherwyse Gowddesday, at afternone of the same, vnto the drapers afore the mayre of the citie, at the Cros vpon the Rode-hee, one bale of lether cauled a fout baule, of the value of iii.*s.* iiii.*d.*, or aboue, to pley at from thens the comon baule of the said citie. And further at pleasure of euille disposed persons, wherefore hath ryssen grete inconuenynce &c.—Fromhensforth shall yerelye vpon the said Tuesday geue and delyuer vnto the said drapers afore the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being at the said playes and tyme, six gleaues of siluer, to the value of euery of them vi*d.*, or aboue at the discretion of the drapers, and the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being. To whome shall run the best and furthest upon foot befor them upon the said Rode-hee that day or anye other daye after at the Drapers pleasure with the oversyght of the Mayer for the tyme beyng; and allso that the said occupacion of saddlers within the said citie which be all the same tyme of no man's remembraunce haue geuin and delyuered yerelye the said place and

tymecurye master of them vnto the said drapers, afore the mayre for the tyme being, a paynted baule of wood with floures and armes upon the poynte of a spere, being goodly arayd upon horsebacke acordingly,—from hensforth shall the said tuesday houre and place gyue and delyuer vnto the said drapers afor the mayre for the tyme beyng vpon horsbak a bell of syluer to the value of iiis. iiiid., or above, to be ordered as is aforesaid by the drapers and the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being to whome shall runne best and furthest vpon horsback before them the said daye and tyme and place; and that allsoe euery man that hayth bene maryed within the said citie sithens Shraffs teuesday last past, shall vpon the said Shraffs tuesday next to come, at the said tyme and place, geue and delyuer vnto the said drapers afore the mayre being an arrow of siluer, to the value of fyve pence or aboue, in value and recompence of such baule of silk or veluet."

On every Easter Monday the Sheriffs of Chester used formerly to shoot, on the race-course, for a calf's-head and bacon breakfast, which, at a subsequent period, was changed by them: a piece of plate, to be run for by horses on Easter Tuesday, being substituted.

"The maner being thus:—The day before, the drum sowndeth through the cittie, with a proclamation for all gentlemen, yeomen, and good fellowes, that will come with their bowes and arrowes to take parte with one sheriff or the other, and upon Monday morning, on the Rode-dee, the mayor, shreeves, aldermen, and any other gentlemen, that wol be there, the one sherife chosing one, and the other sherife chosing another, and soe of the archers; then one sherife

shoteth, and the other sherife he shoteth to *shode* him, being at length twelve score: soe all the archers on one side to shote till it be *shode*, and soe till three shutes be wonne, and then all the winner's side goe up together, firste with arrowes in their handes, and all the loosers with bowes in their hands together, to the common hall of the citie, wher the maior, aldermen, and gentlemen, and the reste, take parte together of the saide breakfaste in loveing manner; this is yearly done, it beinge a commendable exercise, a good recreation, and a lovinge assemblye." *

Tradition says that in the year 946 an image of the Blessed Virgin and a large cross were buried here. The story is curious:—This image belonged to the church of Hawarden, and during the invocations of the inhabitants for relief from a season of drought by which they were greatly suffering, being not securely fixed in its place, or not possessing that share of infallibility which has frequently been ascribed to the Virgin, it somewhat unexpectedly fell upon the head of Lady Trawst, the governor's wife, the effect of which was fatal. In consequence of this catastrophe, the inhabitants of the place held a consultation as to the most proper mode of disposing of the image; and after due deliberation its sentence was:—"To be banished from that place by being laid on the sands of the river; the tide might convey it to whatever other quarter the Virgin whom it represented should think proper." As it was low water when the image was taken to the sands, the flood tide carried it, of course, up the river; and on the day following it was found near the Roodee, where it was immediately in-

The Roodee.

* Hemingway, "Hist. of Chester," vol. i., p. 210.

terred by the inhabitants of Chester with all pomp and solemnity, and a large stone was placed over the grave with this inscription :

> The Jewes theire God dide crucifie,
> The Harderners theires dide drowne,
> 'Cause with theire wantes she'd not complye ;
> And lyes under thys colde stone. *

Yorkshire : Doncaster. Gaterly. Acombe Moor. Hambleton. York.

Referring to Doncaster races *temp.* Queen Anne, the Rev. Joseph Hunter tells us that "there had been public races on the same ground long before this time. Ralph Rokeby, in his memoir of his own family, mentions that his uncle, Thomas Rokeby, of Morton, was assaulted and wounded by Christopher Nevil, brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, at the races at Gaterly. This was in the middle of the sixteenth century. Acombe Moor, near York, was another scene of these amusements in the reign of Charles I. The Black Hamilton Hills were long celebrated for such meetings, and the Knavesmire, near York, is only *now* (1828) giving place to the course at Doncaster."—"South Yorkshire," p. 29.

Metz.

As a curious commentary on the age, we must not omit to refer to the predilection for the Turf manifested by an English nobleman during his exile at Metz, in Lorraine, at this period. The Duke of Suffolk,[15] although banished, and far from the scene of his national sports and pastimes, nevertheless attempted to participate in the pleasures of racing; and the two matches in question are novel events in their way. The surroundings will raise a smile, particularly the

* Bingley, "Executions in North Wales," p. 241.

extraordinary method observed in training the winner, which must have been one of those faint-hearted animals of the same kidney as those in our own enlightened times, that cannot achieve victory without first partaking of a bottle of whiskey. But to train a horse on stimulating beverages alone is, indeed, unique.

[15] Richard de la Pole, or Blanche Rose, as he was familiarly called by his contemporaries, 3rd Duke of Suffolk, was the third son of John de la Pole, who, having married the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister to King Edward IV. and King Richard III., was confirmed as Duke of Suffolk by letters patent, dated March 23, 1463. Through this alliance Richard de la Pole, the 3rd Duke of Suffolk, aspired to the throne of England, although his predecessors, little more than a century prior to this date, were only merchants at Kingston-upon-Hull. Edmund de la Pole, 2nd Duke of Suffolk, the elder brother of the notable Turfite who is the subject of this memoir, was one of the last persons of rank attached to the fortunes of the House of York, who entered the service of Henry VII.; but his successor, becoming alarmed at the duke's claims to the crown, had him beheaded on Tower Hill, April 30, 1513, when all his honours and estates were declared forfeited. Notwithstanding the attainder, execution, and the consequent forfeiture of this duke, his brother Richard, then living an exile in France, assumed the honours of his family, and boldly asserted his claims to the throne of England. His pretensions were recognized at the court of France, and Louis XII., besides promising to assist him with men and arms, gave him an annual pension of 36,000 crowns. But when the fortunes of Blanche Rose looked most promising, they were blighted by the peace made between Louis and Henry, in July, 1514, when the latter gave his sister Mary in marriage to Louis. Both the Emperor of Germany and the Dauphin were displeased at this, for Louis wished thereby to keep the Dauphin from the crown of

France. Among other conditions of this treaty there was one whereby it was tacitly understood that Louis was to give up the Duke of Suffolk to Henry. This baseness, however fell through, owing to the duke's escape to Metz, in Lorraine, when his pension was reduced to 6000 crowns. In the meantime Paris was *en fête*, on account of the celebration of the peace and the royal wedding festivities. The story of this marriage is told by all our historians, and it would not require notice at our hands, but that a French contemporary reference to it has lately come to light, in which the writer said, "that the king had got a white hackney from England which would soon take him post to Paradise"—a true conclusion, as within three months from the time of his marriage he sank, after a short illness, into the grave, while the widow soon after married Charles Brandon, "the other" Duke of Suffolk. When Blanche Rose heard of the death of Louis, he left Metz secretly for Paris, to wait on Francis I., riding so fast, "that he made forty leagues between day and night." His negotiations with the new king, and his proceedings until his return to Metz in the spring of 1517, we need not stop to consider, as these events do not concern our subject. However, shortly after his return to Metz we find him indulging in the pleasures of the Turf. "He possessed a horse which he valued highly, and he often said that there was not his equal within a hundred leagues of Metz, and finally backed him to run against a horse belonging to Seigneur Nicolle Dex, from the elm at Avegney to within St. Clement's Gate, for eighty crowns; and the money was paid into neutral hands. On St. Clement's Day, Saturday, May 2nd, 'et a ce jour meisme, que l'on courre l'awaine et le baicon au dit lieu St. Clement,' the two gentlemen, with several others, rose early, and had St. Thiebault's gate opened before the usual time, and so passed into the fields for the race. For two or three days before Dex had treated his horse as a friend, and given him no hay, and had nothing to drink but white wine ('le dit seigneur Nicolle n'avoit point donne de foin à son chevaulx, ne n'avoit beu aultre chose que du vin blanc'). He had also very light steel shoes made

for him, and came into the field like a groom, in his doublet and without shoes, and with no saddle, but a cloth tied round the horse's belly. Blanche Rose, who rode with a saddle, passed Nicolle for some time; but when they were near St. Laidre, his horse lagged behind, so that the duke urged him on with spurs until the blood streamed down on both sides; but it was in vain. Nicolle gained the race and the hundred and sixty crowns of the sum." Such was the termination of the duke's first horse-race at Metz. Two years afterwards a somewhat similar match was run. "On St. Clement's Day, 1518, Blanche Rose again undertook to run his horse against Nicolle Dex, by a page, for twenty-one crowns; but the page fell, and Nicolle was again victorious. Soon after, on May 8th, he (the duke) left Metz for France." During this time the quondam Duke of Suffolk was soliciting foreign powers to lend him troops to invade England. Both Francis I. and the King of Denmark promised to help him, and Bluff King Hal, though not really alarmed for the safety of his crown, was very anxious to get him out of the way. As we learn from the State Papers, plots were on foot for his assassination; and although some of his servants were betraying him, he was destined to fall fairly in the field of battle. To make a long story short, these plots and counter-plots led to hostilities in Scotland and in France. The Scotch, under the Duke of Albany, were soon rendered harmless; De la Pole's projected descent upon the English shores was consequently abandoned, and the course was clear for Henry's expedition to France. At the head of the English forces was Charles Brandon, created Duke of Suffolk by Henry VIII. in 1514, and it is a somewhat singular coincidence, that, like De la Pole, he too should be one of the finest horsemen of the age. Thus we find the two Dukes of Suffolk in the field, at Terouenne and Tournay—De la Pole at the head of six thousand French troops, Brandon in command of a division of the English forces. Neither of these commanders fell in that campaign (which was fatal to the Chevalier Bayard and several other distinguished officers), but on February 24, 1524–5, Richard de la Pole was killed at the

battle of Pavia, when the French were defeated by the allies, Francis I. having been taken prisoner and carried to Madrid. The valour De la Pole displayed in this engagement extorted the praise even of his foes; and the Duke of Bourbon, honouring his remains with splendid obsequies, assisted in person as one of the chief mourners. Thus terminated the male line of this gallant and highly gifted race; and the dukedom of Suffolk passed without challenge by the new creation to King Henry VIII.'s brother-in-law, the celebrated Charles Brandon above mentioned.*

In the spring of the year 1514 Giovanni Ratto was sent by the Marquis of Mantua with a present of thoroughbred horses to Henry VIII. From these and some subsequent drafts were descended, in all probability, many of the English race-horses of the sixteenth century. Ratto wrote to the marquis, his master, from London, March 20, 1514, describing the fulfilment of his mission.

On the 20th March, "at a place called Hampton, four miles from London," he presented the horses to the king, who was so much pleased that, "had the marquis given him a kingdom, he could not have been more delighted; and went from one nobleman to another saying, 'What think you of these mares? They were sent to me by my cousin the Marquis of Mantua.' The king was quite astonished at seeing the mares in action, and said to the noblemen on the spot that he had never beheld better animals. The French Duke of Longueville, who was captured at Terouenne, was present at the time, and told the

* For some interesting details of the career of Richard de la Pole, 3rd Duke of Suffolk, see "Gedenkbuch des metzer Bürgers Philippe von Vigneulles," aus den Jahren 1471 bis 1522. "Nach Der Handschrift Des Verfassers Herausgegeben," von Dr. Heinrich Michelant. Stuttgart, 1852.

king that there were no such valuable mares at the court of the King of France." Ratto assured the king that if the mares were less good than the king deserved, yet he besought him to accept the loving service of the marquis, who had shown all the mares to Master Thomas Sieno (*sic*), (whom Henry sent to Mantua to obtain thoroughbred horses for him), requesting he would take such as he pleased to gratify the king's taste, but that Master Thomas declined doing anything of the sort. Ratto added that the marquis had a stud of Barbary mares, of "*miche*" and of jennets, and of great mares, which he offered to the king, "together with his territories and children, and his own person." Thereupon the king desired Ratto to return many thanks to the marquis in his name, inquiring what he could do to please him. Ratto replied that the marquis was the king's good servant. The queen was present during this conversation, which induced Ratto to put "the bright bay" through his paces in the Spanish fashion, exhibiting the horse to the admiration of everybody. The king said to him, "Is not this the best horse?" He answered in the affirmative, to the gratification of the king, who approaching the horse patted him, saying, "So ho, my minion." * After this the king caused Ratto to be asked secretly what present would please the marquis, "and he replied nothing but the king's love; though his intention was evinced of purchasing

* Mr. Rawdon Brown says: "Mention is made of this horse in the '*Fioretto delle Croniche di Mantova*,' p. 72. He was a Mantuan 'barb' or race-horse, and the marquis had been offered for him his weight in silver, but preferred making a present of the animal to Henry VIII." —S. P. Venetian, vol. ii., p. 162.

some hobbies, and three couples of staunch hounds." Having put "the bright bay" through his paces again, he presented a scimitar to the king, who was much pleased with that "specimen of oriental workmanship."

Henry was delighted with these animals, "saying that he had never ridden better trained horses, and that for years he had not received a more agreeable present." * These celebrated barbs were not nameless, as we learn that "during four or six days the king rode both Altobello and Governatore, and liked them much, but preferred Governatore." † His Majesty assured Ratto that in all his days he had never ridden a horse that pleased him more than Governatore, and directed his Italian secretary to inform the marquis of his gratification with the noble present, "as the horses were not only very beautiful, but of surpassing excellence."

As to what the "Italian secretary" wrote we have not been able to discover, but soon after the king himself sent the following interesting letter to the marquis relative to those racers, which he terms, "pulcherimis, parterq' genecosissimus, acprestantissimis uriš equis." ‡

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, etc., to the excellent Lord Prince, Francis, Marquis of Mantua, standard-bearer of the Holy Roman Empire, our very dear friend, greeting.

We have learnt from our intimate friend, Thomas Cene, with what affection, magnificence, and expression of singular

* Ratto to the Marquis of Mantua. Lond., June 27, 1514.

† Ratto to Mantua. Lond., June 30, 1514.

‡ Harl. MS., 3462, fo. 147 (123). Translated from the Latin of the MS.

favour and regard towards us he has been entertained by your excellency; and that your very noble stables were thrown open to him, and that he was earnestly requested to choose for us what horses he most approved of. When he refused to avail himself of this generosity, he says your excellency's self selected the four most beautiful of them all for us, which we have received with your letters by your messenger, John Ratto, a man most circumspect and careful, and very well versed not only in horsemanship, but also in courteous behaviour, with which I have been marvellously pleased; and we have read, to our very great delight, what you write touching your ardent affection towards ourself, and we have heard most gladly what the same gentleman, your messenger, has reported to us with so much discreetness in your name. And so many kind offices of yours towards ourself have at once presented themselves to us, that it is not very easy to determine for what we should first return thanks. But, foremost, we thank you most heartily for that your supreme good will towards ourself, which we cannot mistake; and for your exceeding desire of deserving well at our hands, as well as for those *most beautiful, high-bred, and surpassing horses* just sent to us. These we hold highly welcome and acceptable, as well because they are most excellent, as that they have been sent from the very best feeling and intention. Moreover, most grateful to us has proved that enlarged bounty which you have exercised towards the aforesaid, our intimate friend. And although we have long ago honoured you, in no small degree, for your well-proved nobleness of mind, your skill in war, and virtues; now, however, when we discern your excellency to be so singularly affected towards us, we receive and number your excellency, with your most noble children, among our dearest friends, and we hold all belonging to you in the very highest esteem. And we intreat you that, in whatever matter (however great it may be) you suppose it to be possible for us to be serviceable to your own dignity and interest, and that of any of yours, you will signify it confidently to us, and we will do our endeavour, that you may be convinced of our reciprocal

good will towards you. And farewell, with prosperity and happiness!

From our Palace of Eltham, 16th day of July, 1514,

HENRY.*

Another draft of four horses and two jennets appear to have been received by the king from the marquis in the autumn of this year; more were promised, as soon as they were trained (? broken), for which "innumerable thanks" were tendered in advance, as they could not fail to be excellent "coming from such a stud,"—the regard in which those already received were held by Henry is exemplified,—they were probably at the stud, and only ridden by him "on state occasions.

On the 18th of August, the king wrote from Greenwich, again thanking the marquis for "his very noble present," announcing the departure of "our intimate friend and knight Griffith," with some English horses "saddled and harnessed in their full trappings," partly for his Excellency, and partly for "his illustrious consort." †

There are many historical references to the thoroughbred horses Henry VIII. obtained from the Marquis of Mantua. Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian

* The friendship between the king and the Duke of Mantua was curiously illustrated at a later period. He had been cited by the Pope to appear before a general council, to be held at Mantua, to answer certain accusations to be there laid against him. It is supposed Mantua was selected as the most likely place to entrap the king, who, it was presumed, might be attracted thither by the duke's stud, which Henry was anxious to visit. The duke, however, defied the Pope, and would not allow the council to assemble there, and so the plot fell through.

† Harl. MS., 3462 (Latin).

Ambassador in England, in a despatch to the Signory, describes the Mayday gaieties of the Court in 1515; and records that he saw the king on a bay horse, which had been sent to him as a present by the marquis, upon which his Majesty performed such feats that he fancied himself looking at Mars!

Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua,* then in his forty-ninth year, was renowned for his stud of horses, of which the preceding and the following drafts are mentioned as being received in this country by the king. In 1517, and most likely in the interval, further additions from Mantua's stud arrived in England for the King and the Duke of Suffolk, the reciprocation being usually English hounds and hobbies.†

Among other strains of Eastern blood in England at this time, we find a stallion given to the king by the late Duke of Urbino,‡ at the paddock at Hampton Court, whose services were appropriated by Cardinal Wolsey. His Eminence was a famous horseman, and was always energetic in improving the breed of horses in this country. In 1515, Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Spain, sent Henry two "excellent horses," and in

* In March, 1530, the Emperor Charles V. paid a visit to Gonzaga's stud, when he raised the Margravate of Mantua to a Duchy. During this visit the Emperor's master of the horse, Count de Montford, suddenly died there.

† Francesco Chieregato to Mantua. Lond., May 28, 1517.

‡ One day the king mounted Ratto on this horse, to see how he would manage him. He put the horse through his paces, to the astonishment of the king, who said he thought Ratto must have ridden the horse before. The king then asked him whether, without displeasing the Marquis of Mantua, he could enter his service, promising good pay. He replied that he would never wrong the marquis, whose servant he was, and that he would never act thus were he in the service of his Majesty, whom he preferred serving at Mantua rather than in England.

1518 the latter sent "a Bolognese gentleman" and an Englishman to bring him horses from Italy.*

Frizzi, in his "History of Ferrara," mentions the fact of the Duke Alfonso's having sent one of his courtiers, named Girolamo Sestola, to Henry VIII. with a present of a most superb horse with gold trappings, and three trained falcons and a leopard, which last kind of prey was used in Italy in those times to course hares.† In October, 1515, Ferdinand, King of Arragon, sent Henry VIII. a present of two famous horses, caparisoned *regio ornatu*, said to have been worth upwards of one hundred thousand ducats.‡

In April, 1519, Sir Gregory de Cassalis, then at Bologna, was commissioned by Henry VIII. to purchase for him the best horses procurable at the time in Spain and Italy. For this purpose he went to the Duke of Ferrara, announced his business, was shown the duke's stud and allowed to choose what he pleased. None were up to the ideal standard, nevertheless two were selected which were "of the breed of Isabella, duchess of Milan." Ferrara, in a letter to Henry,

* Cardinal Campeggio to the Marquis of Mantua. Lond., Nov. 10, 1518.

† Sanuto mentions having seen a leopard take a hare at Vigevano in 1496; and in an Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Titian, in the Manfrini gallery, two leopards are seen in a leash like dogs. Frizzi says, the mission and present had for object to induce Henry VIII. to persuade Leo. X. to restore Modena and Roggio to the Duke of Ferrara.

‡ Ferdinand the Catholic was at this time considered insane because he gave those horses to his son-in-law. He is said to have never recovered the effects of the aphrodisiac dish which his new queen, Germaine de Fois, set before him in the month of March, 1513, as recorded in one of the letters of Peter Martyr, who in a subsequent epistle says King Ferdinand died of "hunting and matrimony, either of which are fatal to most men at the age of sixty-three."

apologizes for being unable to render him more assistance in the selection, and would gladly have sent him better animals, "but that the breed of horses in his country is very much degenerated." * The following year Sir Gregory obtained for the king another horse "which had no fellow in Italy." †

The king wrote from Greenwich on the 8th of January, 1533, to Frederick, Duke of Mantua, thanking him for a present of mares which he had just received by Ippolito Pagano, "a gift most aggreeable, not merely because he delights greatly in horses of that breed (*illo equorum genere*), but also because "they were sent by his Excellency." ‡ In reciprocation Henry sent the duke two English horses § (*gradarios equos*), probably descendants of the celebrated barbs imported in 1514. In 1537 the duke wrote to Mattheo Dell' Agnella, surnamed "El Barba," who was then in London, requesting him to send him "an English-bred hobby." ‖

In June, 1530, 248 crowns = £57 17*s.* 4*d.*, was charged to the Privy Purse for bringing three horses, two men, and one boy from "Mantwaye." About this time we read of drafts of this strain having been sent to Spain, which proves the reputation of the Mantua stud. ¶

* Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., MSS., P.R.O.

† MS. Vit. bk. iv. 37, B.M. *Cf.* Shakespeare's King Henry the Eighth —"The league between his Highness and Ferrara . . . To Gregory de Cassalis to conclude."

‡ Ferdinand Charles, last Duke of Mantua, died in 1706, when the Emperor of Austria took possession of his dominions. The duke's stud was continued, and strains of the Anglo-Arabian breed are probably still to be found at the now Imperial harras.

§ S. P. Venetian, vol. iv., 840, p. 374. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. v., 135, p. 54.

¶ S.P. England and Spain, vol. iii., p. 2, p. 609.

The improvement already effected in horse breeding at the royal paddocks must have been considerable, as Henry VIII. was enabled to send (November, 1526) Francis the First a present of eighteen horses.* In 1539 he received twenty-five "beautiful Spanish horses" from the Emperor Charles V.†

Sebastian Giustinian, Venetian ambassador in England, in a despatch dated September 10, 1519, in a description of the king, says, "he was extremely fond of hunting, and never took that divertion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he caused to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he meant to take. He was also fond of tennis, at which game it was the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambled with the French hostages to the amount, occasionally, it was said, of from 6000 to 8000 ducats in a day."‡

In certain articles "devised by his royal highness,§ with the advice of his council, for the establishment of good order and reformation of sundry errors and misuses in his household and chambers," dated "apud Eltham, mense January [an°] 22 Henry VIII." it appears that at this date, coursers, young horses, hunting geldings, hobbies, Barbary horses, stallions, geldings, mail, bottle, pack, Besage, and two stalking

* S.P. Venetian, vol. iii., 1436, 1437.

† Itinerary, sub. ann.

‡ Venetian State Papers, No. 1286, vol. ii., p. 557.

§ The title Majesty was not given to our kings till a reign or two after. Twenty-four loaves of bread a day were allowed for the royal greyhounds.

horses, numbering in all eighty-six, were at the royal stud at Eltham.* An interesting account of the number and description of the horses, officers of the stable, etc., necessary for a royal progress is given in the Loseley MS., edited by E. J. Kempe, F.S.A. Lond. 1836, pp. 98, 100.

The career of Henry VIII. is too well known to require any memoir at our hands; suffice it to mention that he never spared man in his wrath or woman in his lust.

About the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VIII. is said to have staked the great bells of St. Paul's against £100 with Sir Miles Partridge upon a cast of dice. The latter won, "and then causing the bells to be broken as they hung, the rest (in the belfry) was pulled down and broken also."† This peal was "the greatest in England,"‡ and deserved a better fate. Partridge was executed on Tower Hill, "for some criminal offences," in the year 1551.

As we have already seen, Bluff King Hal patronized the Turf, kept a racing establishment, was an importer of Arab blood and of other approved strains of the equine race. He was second son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth, eldest daughter and heir of Edward IV.; succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, April 22, 1509; married and murdered (or divorced) his six wives; died January 28, 1546-7.

The Emperor Charles V. sent Edward VI. a present of "two most beautiful Spanish horses," which were received in London on March 26, 1550, as mentioned by Bishop Hooper in a letter to Henry Bullinger.§

* Archæ., vol. iii., pp. 157, 159.

† Stow's "Survey of the Cities of Lond. and Westminster," by Strype. Lond. 1720, vol. i., book iii., 148 b.

‡ Harl. Miscellany, vol. ii., p. 110.

§ Zurich Letters, iii., 81.

Respecting this present of horses several documents are preserved in the Public Record Office, from which it appears that certain instructions were drawn up and furnished to Sir Jaques Granado, Knight, one of the esquires of the stable, who was entrusted to convey the racers to "the French king and the dolphin of Fraunce and the constable of Fraunce, as tokens and presentes from his Matie to every of them." Formal despatches were drafted by the council, minutes passed, and warrants issued in connection with this business, which assumed the aspect of some momentous affair of state. At Paris there was also much ado. Sir William Pickering writes from the British Embassy there, to the council here, describing the reception of the horses by the French king. Sir Jaques was duly presented, delivered his credentials and the horses, which Henry II. willingly accepted, and said, "that his good brother had somewhat prevented him, for he hadde longe agoo appointed a lyke present and of the same commodities his country bare, which he wolde also shortly sende unto his highness."

In another despatch Sir William wrote as follows: "Mr. Granado hath taken his leave, and hath in reward three cheynes,* one of the king, the quene, and dolphin, in valeue by estimacion viij. C. † crownes. The Kinges ma^tie^ shalle have sent him from hence vj. cortalles, iij. Spanishe horses, one torke,‡ a barbery, one cowerser, and ij. lyttel mewles." § The "cowerser" seems to have been the same which King Edward in

* Chains. † 800 crowns. ‡ Turk.

§ Sir W. Pickering to the Council, from Melun, December 8, 1551.

his Journal * terms "a sturring-horse." It seems probable that these horses were selected from the royal stud at Fontainebleau.†

Sir Jaques Granado, the equerry, met his death in his vocation in the year 1552, being accidentally thrown from his horse in the privy garden at Whitehall, in the presence of Queen Mary and King Philip, and killed on the spot.‡

Notwithstanding Holinshed's aspersions, it is very likely the encouragement given by Henry VIII. was conducive to, and actually produced very salutary results in, the cultivation of the English horse. The royal studs may have deteriorated as he asserts, but there can be no doubt that many of the most approved and valued strains continued to be bred from by noblemen and gentlemen throughout the country, such as Sir Nicholas Arnold, otherwise Edward VI. would not be able to eulogize the number and superiority of the horses he saw at the musters in 1551. Writing on the 20th of December in that year to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick, he tells him the musters were well armed, "and so horsed as was never seen, and, I dare say, so many good horses, and so well armed men." §

* In the king's journal or diary (now preserved in the British Museum MS. Cotton Nero C. x.) the following entry occurs under date January 27, 1551–2: "Paris arrived with horses, and shewed how the French king had sent me [a present of] six cortalles, tow Turkes, a barbary, tow genettes, a sturring horse, and tow litle muyles, and shewd them to me."

† Henry II. to Edward VI. from Fontainebleau, December 4, 1551.

‡ Machyn's Diary, p. 135. Ibid., p. 356.

§ Barnaby Fitzpatrick was the elder son of an Irish chieftain, who, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Geraldines in 1537, made his

In 1552, by sec. 15 of the council ordinances, "for the strength and wealth of the realm," commissioners were appointed to view the state of the realm for keeping of great horses, and to see whether the statute made concerning the same was duly observed. This referred to the Act passed 1 Edw. VI., cap. 5, prohibiting the exportation of horses out of the realm without the king's licence under his great or privy seal; and in consequence of the wars on the continent, which created a demand for horses there, a proclamation was issued on the 5th of October, 1552, to enforce the observance of that Act. The same prohibition had been enacted by the Act of 11 Henry VII., and by several statutes of Henry VIII.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth[16] the Turf made considerable progress in England and Scotland. Good Queen Bess became its great patroness, kept up the royal studs, probably entered and ran her own horses, and frequently honoured race-meetings with her presence. Race-meetings are specifically mentioned, and in some cases minutely described, at Salisbury, Doncaster, Huntingdon, Croydon (the Ascot of that era), Richmond (Yorkshire), and Carlisle; and in Scotland there were probably several fixtures besides

submission to the English monarch, was created a peer of Ireland, by the title of Baron of Upper Ossory, in 1541, and was knighted in 1543. Young Fitzpatrick being retained at the English court as a hostage for his father's good behaviour, as well as for his own education, he became the favourite companion of the prince. When at an age to travel, Barnaby went to the French court, furnished at King Edward's cost, and during this period an interesting correspondence passed between them. In 1577 he slew the great rebel Rory O'More. He died at Dublin, September 11, 1581. He had a rare stud of hobbies at one time, and was probably a patron of the turf in the days of the Virgin Queen.

those at Haddington, Peebles, Dumfries, and Teviotdale, of which we have no records. The sport, doubtless, continued as of yore at Chester and many other localities identified with racing, including the environs of the metropolis, where there appears to have been several courses which subsequently became "a wilderness of houses."

[16] Queen Elizabeth—daughter of Henry VIII. and his second wife, Anne Boleyn—born September 7, 1533; ascended the throne November 17, 1558; died March 24, 1603. In her youth, Elizabeth was a good horsewoman; and indeed, after she ascended the throne, her Majesty frequently rode on horseback during her progresses through the country. As we have already seen, the Virgin Queen was a notable patroness of the Turf, kept a racing establishment, and probably had the pleasure of seeing some of her own horses go first past the winning-post. More than any other English sovereign, Elizabeth lived among her subjects, and even long after her death, her birthday was kept in "memory green" throughout the realm.

Turning to the Annals we ascertain the following details:

In the month of May, 1574, preparations were made by Archbishop Parker for a visit of the queen at his palace of Croydon during the races; and Mr. S. Bowyer, the queen's usher of the black rod, was sent down to prepare lodgings for her Majesty and her officers of state, attendants, etc.; but, after all these preparations, the visit was deferred.

Croydon. c. 1574.

Among the distinguished persons who were to accompany the queen, lodgings were provided at the palace for the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Treasurer

and his Lady, the Lady Warwick, the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Admiral, the Lady Howard, the Lord Hunsdon, Mr. Secretary Walsingham, the Lady Stafford, Mr. Hennage, Mrs. Drewrey, the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Mrs. Abbington, the Maids of Honour, Sir George Howard, the Captain of the Guard, the Grooms of the Privy Chamber, the Esquires of the Body, the Gentlemen Ushers, the Royal Physicians, the Keeper of the Queen's Robes, the Groom Porter, the Clerk of the Kitchen, and "the Wardrobe of the Bedes." Bowyer's difficulties now commenced: "For the Queen's Wayghters, I cannot as yet fynde anye convenyent romes to place them in, but I will doo the best y^t I can to place them elsewher but yf y^t please you S^r, y^t I doo remove them. The Gromes of the Privye Chamber nor Mr. Drewrye have no other waye to their Chambers but to pass throwe that waye agayne that my Lady of Oxford should come. I cannot then tell wher to place Mr. Hatton, and for my Lady Carewe here is no place with a chimney for her but that must ley abrode by Mrs. Aparry and the rest of the Privye Chambers. For Mrs. Shelton here is no romes with chymeneys; I shall staye [keep] one chamber without for her. Here is as mutche as I have any wayes able to doo in this house."* The description reads like the festivities at Windsor Castle during an Ascot week in the reign of George IV.

In April, 1585, the queen, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, attended the races at Croydon, when

* Nichols, "Progress of Queen Elizabeth," vol. i., pp. 385, 386.

34*s.* was expended on a stand (which can hardly be termed "grand") for the use of her Majesty during the meeting.* She was also present in 1587,† and again in 1588, when similar accommodation was provided on the course for her to see the races.‡

"These two years, in March, there was a race run with horses, at the furthest three miles from Sarum, at which were divers noble personages, whose names are underwritten, and the Earl of Cumberland won the golden bell, which was valued at £50 and better, the which Earl is to bring the same again next year, which he promised to do, upon his honour, to the mayor of this city.

Salisbury. *c.* 1585.

"The Earl of Cumberland,[17] the Earl of Warwick,[18] the Earl of Pembroke,[19] the Earl of Essex,[20] the Lord Chandos,[21] the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord William Howard,[22] Sir Walter Hungerford,[23] Sir John Danvers,[24] Sir Thomas Wroughton,[25] Sir William Courtenay,[26] Sir Matthew Arundell,[27] Mr. Thomas George,[28] of Her Majesty's Privy Council, with divers others." §

"During the stay of the Earl of Essex, he gave

* "To Fraunces Coote for thallowance of him selfe for makinge readye a standinge for her ma^tie at the horse race at Croydon, by the space of ij days mens. Aprilis 1585 . . . xxxiv^s."—Wardrobe Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber, box F, bundle 2, m. 64, 65. The "Bishoppes house at Croydon" was made ready at a cost to her Majesty of £8 17*s.* 4*d.*

† Similar expenses occurred during this visit.—*Ibid.*, m. 91.

‡ The Apparelers were engaged six days making ready the Archiepiscopal Palace: also a standing "against the runninge of the horses there xxxixs."—*Ibid.*, m. 105, MS. P.R.O.

§ Records of the Corporation of Salisbury, quoted by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., in "Hist. Wilts," vol. vi., p. 294.

a golden snaffle for the encouragement of the races recently established. Soon after the change of mayors in 1602, we find this memorandum:—

"'March 11, 1603. At this assembly, Mr. Henry Boyle, late mayor, hath brought in and delivered to Mr. James Haviland, now mayor of the City, the golden bell appointed for the races, and given to this City by the Right Honourable Henry, late Earl of Pembroke, and also one golden snaffle, lately given to this City by the Earl of Essex.'"—"The History of Wiltshire," vol. vi., p. 306 (Extracts *vide* Municipal Records of Salisbury, ledger C, fol. 172), by Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart.

[17] George Clifford, 3rd EARL OF CUMBERLAND, was a conspicuous patron, and one of the victims, of the Turf at this period. Educated at the university of Cambridge and attaching himself to the study of mathematics, imbibing thereby a passion for navigation, that he soon afterwards became eminent as a naval commander, having undertaken at his own expense several voyages for the public service. That, and a passion for horse-racing, tournaments, and similar pursuits, made such inroads upon his fortune, that he was said to have wasted more of his estate than any one of his ancestors. His lordship was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1592. His character is thus depicted in the manuscript memoirs of his celebrated daughter, Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke:—"He was endowed with many perfections of nature so befitting so noble a personage, as an excellent quickness of wit and apprehension, an active and strong body, and an affable disposition and behaviour. But as good natures, through human frailty, are often misled, so he fell in love with a lady of quality, which did by degrees, draw and alienc his love and affections from his so virtuous and well-deserving wife; it being the cause of many discontents between them for many

years together, so that at length, for two or three years before his death, they parted houses, to her extreme grief and sorrow, and also to his extreme sorrow at the time of his death; for he died a very penitent man, in the duchy-house, called the Savoy, 30 October, 1605, aged 47 years, 2 months, and 22 days, being born at Brougham Castle, 8 Augt. 1558." *

* Burke's "Dormant and Extinct Peerages," ed. 1866, p. 123. For accounts of his voyages *vide* "Purchas His Pilgrimes," part iv. Lond. 1625, fo.—On one occasion he missed, by three or four days, the Spanish fleet at the Island of Fayael, where they discharged "fortie millions of gold and silver" which he might have captured, "as the Spaniards themselves confessed," instead of the small galleon which he took which was valued at only £150,000. Politically he was Ultramontain, and at one time in league with the Northern Lords (who, like himself, were addicted to the chase and the Turf) concerning the plot to depose Elizabeth and to place Mary Queen of Scots on the throne (see Froude, chaps. xvii., xviii.). "Malgré les richesses immenses conquises par Clifford, la construction et l'armement de ses vaisseaux, son goût pour les joûtes et les courses de chevaux lui firent dissiper une partie de son patrimonie. Il mourut en 1605."—*Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1813. "He sold much land at Rotherham and Malton to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others, and to Sir Michael Stanupp, so that he consumed more of his Estate than [ever] any of his Ancestors did by much, to which his continual building of ships, and his many sea voyages, gave great occasion to these Vast expences of his, and that which did contribute the more to the consuming of his estate, was his extream love to Horse-races, Tiltings, Bowling matches, Shooting, and all such expensive sports . . . Queen Elizabeth made him Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and made him her Champion at all the Tiltings from the 35th year of her reigne till her Death, for in those exercises of Tilting, Turnings and Courses of the field, he did excell all the nobility of his time . . . Also K. James, her Successor, made this George Earl of Cumberland, one of his Privy Counsell and Conferred some gifts of profit upon him in part of recompence for the great Service he had done in England in his many Sea Voyages—*A Summary of the Vetriponts, Cliffords and Earls of Cumberland and of the Lady Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett, and Montgomery, &c. Daughter and Heir to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in whom ye Name of the said Cliffords Determined!*"—Harleian MS., 6177, fo. 98.

After the death of the second Earl of Cumberland, in 1572, in an inventory of his effects, etc., at Skipton Castle, the following horses and geldings are mentioned, with a valuation attached to each: Young Marcantony, stoned, £16; Grey Clyfford, £11; Whyte Dacre, £10; Sorrell Tempest, £4; Whit Tempest, £5; Baye Tempest, £5; Baye Myddleton, £1; Mayres and ther followers, 11; Carthorses, 10.

Mr. Morant remarks—"With respect to the earl's stud of horses, there

[18] Through the especial favour of the Queen, in the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, Lord Ambrose Dudley, then eldest surviving son of the attainted John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was restored in blood; and in the first year of Elizabeth he obtained a grant of the manor of Bibworth Beauchamp, county Leicester, to be held by service of pantler to the kings and queens of England at their coronations, which manor and office his father and other of his ancestors, Earls of Warwick, formerly enjoyed. In the next year he was made master of ordinance for life, and two years afterwards, December 25, 1561, advanced to the peerage as Baron L'Isle preparatory to his being created next day EARL OF WARWICK, when he obtained a grant of Warwick Castle, and divers other lordships in the same county, which had come to the crown upon the attainder of his father. His lordship was afterwards created a Knight of the Garter. In the 12th Elizabeth, upon the insurrection in the North of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, the Earl of Sussex being first despatched against the rebels with 700 men, the Earl of Warwick, with the Lord Admiral Clinton, followed with 13,000 more, the earl being nominated lieutenant-general of the army. The next year he was constituted Chief Butler of England, and soon afterwards sworn of her Majesty's Privy Council. During this year he was one of the peers who sat in Westminster Hall on the trial and judgment of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, as he did fourteen years after at Fotheringay, on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scotland. The Earl of Warwick married, 1st, Anne, daughter and co-heir of William Whorwood, Esq., attorney-general to Henry VIII.; 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Gilbert Talboys; and 3rdly, Anne, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford; but died without heirs, in 1589, when all his honours became extinct; the lordship and lands, which he had obtained by grant (part of the inheritance of the old Earls of Warwick), reverted to the crown. Of these the ancient

was something much more noble in naming these fine animals from his own family, or that of friends from whom he had purchased them, than the contemptible and nonsensical manner of denominating race-horses at present."—"Hist. Craven," ed. 1878.

park of Wedgenock was granted, in 1601, by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Fluke Greville, to whom, in four years afterwards, James I. likewise granted the Castle of Warwick with the gardens and dependencies. This Sir Fluke Greville was descended through his grandmother, Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Lord Beauchamp, of Powyk, from the old Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick; and from him have sprung the existing Earls of Brooke and Warwick.

[19] Henry Herbert, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, K.G., succeeded his father, William Herbert, the 1st Earl, on March 17, 1569–70. He married, 1st, Catherine, daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, from whom he was divorced; 2ndly, Catherine, daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, but by that lady had no issue; and 3rdly, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., by whom he had two sons and a daughter. He died January 19, 1600–1, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, 3rd Earl, K.G., chancellor of the university of Oxford, and lord-chamberlain of the household, who married Mary, daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, and co-heir to the Baronies of Talbot, Strange, Blackmere, and Furnival, but died without surviving issue, April 10, 1630, when the honours of his family devolved upon his brother Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery.

[20] Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who was a prominent patron of the Turf and staunch supporter of the old Sarum meetings, was born on the 10th of November, 1567, at Netherwood, his father's seat in Herefordshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1583, but soon after retired to his villa venatica, Lampsic, in South Wales, where he spent some time, and became so enamoured with his rural retreat that he was with difficulty prevailed on to quit it. The earl was an expert horseman, saw service abroad, distinguished himself at the battle of Sutphen, fought in 1586, and soon after his return to England was made Master of the Horse. Two years later we find

him general in command of the horse, for the defence of the kingdom against the Spanish invasion. When the Armada was dispersed, and the camp at Tilbury broken up, the Earl of Essex was created K.G., and was henceforth considered the queen's favourite. He subsequently filled many important positions, including that of Earl Marshal of England, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. His ultimate fate is so notorious an event in history that it is unnecessary to dwell at any length upon it here. By his marriage with Frances, the widow of his friend Sir Philip Sidney, he first excited the jealousy and resentment of Queen Elizabeth, against whom he subsequently conspired and made a fruitless effort at insurrection, was taken prisoner, committed to the Tower, and thence, after having been convicted by his peers of high treason, was, under romantic circumstances, beheaded on the 25th of February, 1600. The legend of the ring, in connection with the execution of the Earl of Essex, which recent investigation has confirmed, was to the following purport:—Elizabeth, in the height of her passion for the Earl of Essex, gave him a ring, which he was enjoined to cherish; and that whatever offence he should commit, she would pardon him when he should return that pledge. When he was condemned, she expected to receive from him the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promise. The earl, finding himself in the last extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's lady, who was his relation, and desired her, by a person she could trust, to deliver the ring into the queen's own hands. But her husband, who was one of the earl's greatest enemies, and to whom she told this imprudently, would not suffer her to acquit herself of the commission; so that the queen consented to the earl's death, being full of indignation against so proud and haughty a spirit, who chose rather to die than to implore her mercy. She, however, ordered a magnificent scaffold to be erected for the execution; the cost and particulars of which are still extant.* Some time after the admiral's lady fell ill, and,

* L.T.R. Works and Buildings, M.S., P.R.O.

being given over by her physicians, she sent word to the queen that she had a secret of great consequence to divulge before she died. The queen came to her bedside; and having ordered all her attendants to withdraw, Lady Howard returned her Majesty, but too late, that ring from the Earl of Essex, praying to be excused for not having returned it sooner, since her husband had prevented her. The queen retired immediately, overwhelmed with the utmost grief; she sighed continually for a fortnight, without taking any nourishment, lying in bed entirely dressed, and getting up a hundred times a night. At last she died with hunger and with grief, because she had consented to the death of a lover who had applied to her, under such untoward circumstances, for mercy. Such was the end of this most remarkable Turfite of the age.

[21] Giles Burges (or Brydges), 3rd Baron Chandos—son of Edmund the 2nd Baron and Dorothy, fifth daughter and eventually co-heir of Edmund, Lord Bray—succeeded to the family honours and estates in Gloucestershire, on the death of his father, September 11, 1573. He married Lady Frances Clinton, daughter of Edward, 1st Earl of Lincoln, by whom he had two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Kennedy, and Catherine, who married Francis, Lord Russell, of Thornhaugh, afterwards Earl of Bedford. Those ladies were his heirs. He died February 21, 1593-4, and was succeeded in the peerage by his brother William, the 4th baron, who died in 1602.

[22] The Lords Thomas and William Howard above mentioned were, respectively, the elder and the second sons of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, K.G., by his second marriage with Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, of whom Thomas succeeded to the Barony of Walden, in the right of his mother, and was afterwards created Earl of Suffolk; William ("Belted Will") was restored in blood, by Act of Parliament, in 1603. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, and sister and co-heir of George, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, and became in her right,

proprietor of Naworth Castle, in Cumberland, the ancient seat of the Dacre family. He also acquired by this alliance Hinderskelfe, the site of Castle Howard. Their father, Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, shared the fate of their distinguished grandfather, for, being attainted of high treason for his communication with Mary, Queen of Scots, he was beheaded in 1572, when all his honours became forfeited.*

[23] Sir Walter Hungerford, Knight, of Farley Castle, —eldest son of Walter Hungerford, Baron Hungerford, of Heytesbury, and Jane, daughter of Lord Zouche, of Harringworth, which nobleman was beheaded on Tower Hill with Cromwell, Earl of Essex, July 28, 1541, when this barony expired—obtained from Queen Mary a reversal of the attainder imposed upon his father in the reign of Henry VIII., save as to the enjoyment of the peerage. Sir Walter married, 1st, Anne Basset, and 2ndly, Anne, daughter of Sir William Dormer, Knight, and had issue one son (who died without heirs) and three daughters. Sir Walter Hungerford, unlike many of his ancestors, eschewed political strife and court intrigue, and devoted his life principally to rural affairs and field sports. The motto affixed to his portrait, with its appendages, demonstrates the man and his habits. He proclaims himself Amicis Amicissimus—a most endearing expression! The motto alludes most forcibly to the fatal and ambitious pursuits of his ancestors; and the hooded hawk perched on his glove in one picture, and the other curious portraiture of the same personage on horseback, points him out as a lover of the country and the champion of rural amusements. The latter picture bears the following inscription:—"Sr Walter Hungerforde knight had in quene Elizabeths tyme the seconde of her raine for fouer yere to gether a baye horse a blacke greyhounde a leveratt his offer was for fouer yeare to gether to all Eynglande not a boue his betters he that shoulde showe the best horse for a man of armes a greyhounde for a hare a haucke for the ryver to wine III hundred poundes that was

* See Book vi., sub.-tit. Langwathby, 1612.

a hundery the poundes a pese also he had a gerfalcon for the herne in her majestys tyme which he kept XVIII yere and offered the lyke to flye for a hundred pounde and were refused for all."

On the branch of the family settled at Black Bourton, county Oxford, Farley Castle eventually devolved, and was one of the great possessions of Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight of the Bath, surnamed "the Spendthrift," by whose boundless extravagance the family property, immense though it was, was utterly destroyed. He died in 1711, having had a son, Edward, who predeceased his father, without surviving issue. Thus terminated this remarkable family, notable for its great fortune and bad luck—if the paradox be admissible. Two branches of the Hungerford family, however, are still settled in Ireland.*

[24] Sir John Danvers, Knight, of Dauntsey, Wiltshire, acquired by his marriage with the Hon. Elizabeth Nevil, fourth daughter of John Nevil, last Lord Latimer of that surname, the ancient castle of Danby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. By this lady he had three sons and two daughters. His second son and heir, Sir Henry Danvers, Knight, was elevated to the peerage July 27, 1603, as Baron Danvers, of Dauntsey, county Wilts, and on the accession of Charles I., created Earl of Danby, and soon after chosen a Knight of the Garter. Dying January 20, 1643, a bachelor and without heirs, all these honours became extinct.

[25] Sir Thomas Wroughton died in June, 1597. His eldest daughter, Dorothy, married, 1st, Sir Henry Unton, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador at the court of France, *temp.* July 24,

* Some short time since a most interesting manuscript collection of memoirs of the Hungerford family was sold by auction in London. It realized a high price, and, we believe, was purchased for the Astor Library, in New York City. Recently, all our good rural manuscripts have been bought up by enterprising American and Colonial collectors. The absence of such unique documents render the elucidation of domestic history all the more difficult, in many cases a hopeless task!

1591—June 7, 1592; and 2ndly, Sir George Sherly, Bart., ancestor of the Earls Ferrers.

[26] Sir William Courtenay, Knight, only son and heir of Sir William Courtenay and Elizabeth, daughter of John Powlet, Marquis of Winchester, succeeded his father, who was killed at the storming of St. Quintin, in 1557. This notable Turfite was High Sheriff of Devonshire in 1581, and four years later became one of the undertakers to send over settlers for the better planting of Ireland, and thus laid the foundation of the prodigious estates in that kingdom which his descendants until recently enjoyed. Sir William married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, Earl of Rutland, and, dying in 1630, was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Francis Courtenay, Esq., of Powderham Castle, county Devon.

[27] Sir Mathew Arundell, of Wardour—son of Sir Thomas Arundell and Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Lord Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and sister of Catherine, fifth wife of Henry VIII.—married Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, Knight, of Wollaton, county Nottingham. Sir Matthew died in 1598, and was succeeded by his elder son, created Baron Arundell of Wardour, May 4, 1605.

[28] Of this gentleman we know nothing beyond the fact of his being a member of the Privy Council and a patron of the Turf in those days.

"The commencement of horse-racing at Doncaster may be ascribed to the sixteenth century; there certainly was a race-course in 1600, for on the 2nd of May of that year an order was made by the Corporation, 'That whereas Hugh Wyrrall, gentleman, had caused a stoope to be sett on Doncaster More at the west end of the horse race, yt Mr. Maior,

Doncaster. 1600.

Mr. Huscroft, and Mr. Levett maye lykewise sett a workman to cutt down or digg upp the sayd stoope.'"

"A race course on 'Wheatlay More' is noticed in old deeds [dated] A.D. 1600."—Doncaster Races. Hist. Notices, etc., by William Sheardown, Esq., J.P.

"April 6, 1602. This day there was a race at Sapley neere huntingdon: invented by the gents of that Country: At this Mr. Oliuer Cromwell's horse won the syluer bell: And Mr. Cromwell had the glory of the day. Mr. Hynd came behinde."—Diary, anonymous, Harl. MS. 5353, fo. 36*d*.

Huntingdon. 1602.

This diary was printed by the Camden Society in 1868. It is edited by Mr. John Bruce, by whom it is attributed to "John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and of Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-law, 1602, 1603." Mr. Bruce, in his notes on the above extract, says, "This 'Mr. Oliver Cromwell' was in truth, according to other writers who have mentioned him, Sir Oliver Cromwell, stated to have been knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1598, created K.B. at the coronation of King James, and uncle to his namesake the future Protector. An ancestor of his in the reign of Henry VIII. is described by Mr. Carlyle as 'a vehement, swift-riding man" (Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, i. 42, ed. 1846). Sir Oliver seems to have inherited some of the ancestral qualities."—p. 49.

Huntingdonshire, says Leland (*temp.* Henry viii.), "in old time, was much more woody than it is now, and the dere resortid to the fennes: it is ful long sins it was deforested." Camden corroborates this, and states, that "the inhabitants say it was once covered with woods, and it appears to have been a forest till Henry II., in the beginning of his reign, disafforested the whole, as set forth by an old perambulation, 'except Waybridge, Sapple [*quæ* Sapley above], and Herthei,' which were the lords' woods and remain forest."

"Below the high ground to the south-westward of the entrenchments, is an extensive and fertile meadow, called *Portsholm*, which Camden describes as 'the most fresh and beautiful that the sun ever shone upon.' This meadow is partly surrounded by the Ouse river; and here the Huntingdon *Races* are held; a small part of it, which belonged to the Protector Cromwell, and now to the Earl of Sandwich, still bears the appellation of Cromwell's Acres."—"The Beauties of England and Wales," by Edward Wedlake Brayley. London, 1808, vol. vii., p. 348.

Sir Oliver Cromwell "had the felicity to entertain one, if not two, of the English monarchs. King James I. he certainly did several times, and probably King Charles I., but the most memorable visit was paid to him by the former during his progress from Edinburgh to London, on the 27th April, 1603. Whilst the king was at Hinchinbrook, he received the heads of the University of Cambridge in their robes, to congratulate him upon his succession to the English throne, which they did in a long Latin oration. His Majesty continued with Sir Oliver until he had breakfasted on the 29th, and on his leaving Hinchinbrook, expressed his sense of the obligations he had received from him, and from his lady. To the former, he said, at parting, as they passed through the court, in his broad Scotch manner, 'Morry, mon, thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinboro.' Among the presents given by Sir Oliver to the king on this occasion were, 'a large elegant wrought cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing, and, at the remove, he gave fifty pounds among the principal officers." During the civil war, Sir Oliver adhered to the royal cause, when all his property was sequestrated, but owing to his close relationship to the Protector, the total wreck of his fortune was averted. He died in August, 1655, at the great age of ninety-three."—Noble's "Cromwells," vol. i., p. 43.

It appears a hunting match or steeplechase, made at Newmarket between Lord Haddington and Lord Sheffield, took place at Huntingdon in November, 1607.

"In the reign of Queen Elizabeth," says Mr. Clarkson, "racing was carried on to such an excess as to injure the fortunes of many individuals, private matches being then made between gentlemen, who were generally their own jockeys and tryers." * He adds that the earliest account of races at Richmond "may be gathered from an entry in 1576, in the Corporation Coucher, of a Cup for the Horse-Race being in the possession of the Aldermen."

Richmond (Yorkshire). *c.* 1576.

Horse-racing undoubtedly flourished at Carlisle in the reign of Elizabeth, where the Corporation gave silver bells to be run for. Some of these interesting trophies are still preserved by the Corporation in their town hall. One measures two and a quarter inches in diameter, is of silver gilt, and has on it—

Carlisle. *c.* 1599.

> The sweetest hors this bell to tak,
> For mi Ladi Dakers sake.

This Lady Dacre was probably Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Dacre, Governor of Carlisle, *temp.* Elizabeth.

Another bell, which is smaller than the one above mentioned, is of silver and has on it—

H. B., 1599, M.C.,

the initials probably meaning, "Henry Baines, Mayor of Carlisle." †

Owing to the following curious incident we learn that

* "The History and Antiquities of Richmond, in the County of York," by Christopher Clarkson, F.S.A.

† The privileges or liberties of the Corporation of Carlisle (the Court of Record) extended, *temp.* Elizabeth, to and included jurisdiction to the full extent of the river Eden, including the lands and the whole of the race-course, except that part of it which is in the parish of Stanwix.

in June, 1599, the Turf engaged the attention of James VI. and other persons of distinction across the border at this time. George Fenner, writing from the court at London to a friend at Venice, tells him, "There is much private talk in court and city about a Scottish accident, which seems to trouble the State. An Englishman, called Ashton, having been employed by that king (as it is thought) secretly in Spain, Rome, and other places, some here in authority, wishing to understand the particulars, and not finding other means, plotted with the governor of Berwick and Sir William Bowes, our ambassador there, to bring him unto England, which was lately thus performed. The king, with many of his nobles, was going to a horse-race, and this Ashton preparing to go also, was invited by our ambassador's secretary to go with him in the coach. He accepted, and they soon turned the coach another way, and came to a place where some light horsemen from Berwick met them, and conducted them to Berwick, where the man was committed to prison. When the king heard of it, he took it so ill that he commanded our ambassador to keep his house, and has placed a guard about him, vowing he shall have the same treatment there, as the other has here. It is thought we shall pacify the king by money, or else by fair means win the man to reveal what he knows, and then dismiss him, as though nothing had been done.*

Scotland. 1599.

In 1585 Queen Elizabeth sent Mr. Edw. Wotton to the young king with a present of some "noble

* State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. 271, 33, MS., P.R.O.

horses and hounds." The venatic ambassador himself "was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the exercises for which James had a passion, and amused the king by relating the adventures which he had met with, and the observations he had made during a long residence in foreign countries; but under the veil of these superficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing spirit." *

"Horse-racing was early practised as a popular amusement in Scotland. In 1552, there was an arrangement for an annual horse-race at Haddington, the prize being, as usual, a silver bell. Early in the reign of James VI., there were races at both Peebles and Dumfries. The Peebles race accustomed to take place on Beltane-day, the 1st of May; it was the chief surviving part of the festivities which had from an early period distinguished the day and place, and which were celebrated in the old poem of *Peebles to the Play*.

c. Elizabeth. *et seq.* Scotland. 1522-1608. Haddington. Peebles. Dumfries.

The great difficulty attending such popular festivities arose from the tendency of the people to mark them with bloodshed. Men assembled there from different parts of the country, each having, of course, his peculiar enmities, and the object of similar enmities in his turn; and when they met, and had somewhat inflamed themselves with liquor, it was scarcely avoidable that mutual provocations should be given, leading to conflicts with deadly weapons. So great reason was there now (1608) for fearing a sanguinary scene at Peebles,

* Robertson, *sub anno.*

that the lords of council thought proper to issue a proclamation forbidding the race to take place."—"Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. i., p. 410.

Scotland. 1575. The Border Meetings: Solway Sands.

"Towards the end of this year the Regent Morton was at Dumfries, holding justice-courts for the punishment of the Borderers. 'Many were punished by their purses rather than their lives. Many gentlemen of England came thither to behold the Regent's court, where there was great provocation made for the running of horses. By chance my Lord Hamilton had there a horse sae weel bridled and sae speedy, that although he was of a meaner stature than other horses that essayit their speed, he overran them all a great way upon Solway Sands, whereby he obtained great praise both of England and Scotland at that time' (Historie of King James the Sext)."—"Domestic Annals of Scotland," by Robert Chambers, vol. i., p. 103.

Among the early fathers of the Turf in Scotland, it seems that David Home of Wedderburn, who died in 1574, was conspicuous among his sporting contemporaries. He was a gentleman of good status in Berwickshire, and father of the David Home of Godscroft, to whom Scottish literature owes the "History of the House of Douglas." The son has left us a portraiture of the father, which, even when we make a good allowance for filial partiality, must be held as showing that such society in the seventeenth century was not without estimable members. "He died in the fiftieth year of his age, of a consumption, being the first (as is said) of his family

who had died a natural death—all the rest having lost their lives in defence of their country."

It is further stated that David Home was a man remarkable for piety, probity, candour, and integrity; but if the assertion be correct, it is difficult to reconcile some of the remarkable *coups* effected by him on the Turf, with the qualifications attributed to him above. Had the Jockey Club existed in those days he would probably be "warned off," even though he had the Psalms "always in his mouth."

David is described as being swift of foot, and fond of foot-races, while he excelled in the mysteries of the Turf. "He collected a number of the swiftest horses both from the north of Scotland and from England, by the assistance of one Graeme, recommended to him by his brother-in-law, Lochinvar. He generally had eight or more of that kind, so that the prize was seldom won by any but those of his family. . . . He was so great a master of the art of riding, that he would often be beat to-day, and within eight days lay a double wager on the same horses, and come off conqueror." All this to the contrary, "He was strictly just, utterly detesting all manner of fraud." . . . "He went frequently from home to his diversion, sometimes to Haddington, and sometimes to Peebles, the one of which is eighteen, and the other twenty-four miles distant, and sometimes stayed there for several days with numerous attendants, regardless of expense, as being too mean and sordid a care, and below the dignity of one of his rank. Being educated in affluence, he delighted in fencing, hunting, riding, throwing the javelin, manag-

ing horses, and likewise in cards and dice. Yet he was sufficiently careful of his affairs without doors. Those of a more domestic nature he committed to the care of his wife, and when he had none to his servants, so that he neither increased nor diminished his patrimony." *

A disturbance at the horse-races of Teviotdale in May, 1601, is mentioned in despatches from George Nicholson, dated, Edinburgh, $\frac{\text{May } 21,}{\text{June } 2,}$ 1601, to Sir Robert Cecil,† when it seems Lord Roxbourghe and his followers caused the strife. Teviotdale. 1601.

There was a "grand" race-course on Spafields, Clerkenwell, from this period till about the accession of the House of Hanover, when it was built upon, and its site may still be indicated by Exmouth Street and Cobham Row, N. Elizabeth. London.

Racing, or tilting, appears to have taken place in St. James's Park in November, 1590:—

"To Richard Brackenburye one of the ordenarye yeu' vsher's of her ma^ts^ Chamber for thallowaunce of him selfe one yeoman vsher iij^e^ yeomen and twoe gromes of the Chamber twoe gromes of the wardrobe and one grome porter for makinge readye a dyninge house at Whitehall for her ma^tie^, & for makynge twyce readye to see the Runnynge, & for twice makinge readye the standinge for the Judges in all by the space of viij dayes mense Novembris 1590 . . . vij^li^ xvij^s^." ‡

* "Domestic Annals of Scotland," by Robert Chambers, vol. i., p. 98.

† State Papers, Scotland, Eliz., vol. lxvii., Nos. 53, 58.

‡ MSS. Wardrobe Acc. Treas. Chamb. Eliz., bundle 2, m. 152.

"The progress of building in London, which was extremely great under Elizabeth, filled up many of the old tilt-yards, shooting-grounds, and race-courses around the city, and curtailed many of the old facilities for manly sports and exercises. The sedentary life thus enforced, joined with a more luxurious mode of living, soon began to produce some novel ailments, and the gout (then emphatically named *the Enemy*) showed itself pretty plainly amongst the higher classes of society. The active games of their forefathers were now, indeed, exchanged for the cock-pit, the theatre, the bear-garden, the eating-houses and taverns, dicing-houses, and smoking ordinaries, which sprang up rapidly in every street. To these places the buffoon and the juggler, with the masters of motions (puppet-shows), now forbidden the stately palace and the castle, naturally resorted, along with the poor crest-fallen minstrel, sadly sunken into a common street-singer or tap-room fiddler. These helpless classes, once the life of the highest circles, were now ranked with rogues and vagabonds, thieves and ruffians, or, still worse, with heretics and pagans, liable to the severest and most merciless penalties. . . . In the country, hunting, hawking, and fowling were still followed, and various devices were still used to allure the game of all kinds. Hawking, indeed, was at its height during this period, and fell gradually into disuse, partly from the great expense of keeping falcons, and partly from the novel charms of the fowling-piece. After the reign of Elizabeth the sport will require in consequence no further mention."—"An Introduction to English Antiquity, intended as a companion to the History of England," by J. Eccleston, M.A., p. 314 (London, 1847).*

Elizabeth.

"Horse-racing now commenced as a regular amusement, and was favoured even by the puritans, who bitterly opposed almost every other sport. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the saddlers of Chester gave races, at which a silver bell,

* For allusions to gambling, card-sharping, etc., in London at this period, see Robert Greene's "Coosnage" and "Couny Catching" (Lond. 4to., 1592, Black letter), intro., etc.

value 3*s.* 6*d.*, was bestowed on the winner, and this example was soon followed in other parts of the country. By this means our breed of horses, which had hitherto been remarkably poor, was greatly improved. The less innocent and praiseworthy amusements of bear and bull baiting continued to delight all classes; and even the queen herself rejoiced greatly in this cruel sport. Cock-fighting, and throwing at cocks, which were regularly introduced in public schools, served to increase the ferocity of the people; to which also the number of executions, the ghastly exhibition of traitors' heads over the city gates, and the brutal punishments of whipping and branding lent no small aid."—*Ibid.*, p. 314.

In the third satire of Bishop Hall,* written towards the end of the sixteenth century, the right reverend satirist adverts to the Turf in those days:— Elizabeth. *c.* 1597.

> Tell me, thou gentle Trojan, dost thou prise
> Thy brute beasts' worth by their dams' qualities?
> Say'st thou, This Colt shall prove a swift-pac'd steed,
> Only because a Jennet did him breed?
> Or say'st thou, This same horse shall win the prize,
> Because his dame was swiftest Trunchefice,
> Or Runcevall his syre? himself a Gallawaye?
> Whiles, like a tireling jade, he lags halfe-waye;
> Or whiles thou seest some of thy Stallion-Race,
> Their eyes boar'd out, masking the miller's-maze,†
> Like to a Scythian slave sworne to the payle,
> Or dragging froathy barrels at his tayle?

He also incidentally mentions that what we would now call fashionable stallions, when serving, were fed with eggs and oysters.

* Born July 1, 1574; died Sept. 8, 1656. Successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich. See his works, by Pratt, in ten vols. London, 1808, 8vo.

† *I.e.*, Fallen greatness: pacing round a mill blindfolded.

In the Life of the eccentric Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself, he refers to the evil influences of the turf in England at this period. "The exercises," he says, "I do not approve of are riding of running horses, there being much cheating in that kind; neither do I see why a brave man shou'd delight in a creature whose chief use is to help him to run away. I do not much like hunting horses, that exercise taking up more time than can be spared for a man studious to get knowledge: it is enough therefore to know the sport if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practise: and indeed of the two, hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it: and upon these terms also I can allow a little bowling, so that the company be choise and good." He advocates the *manège*, swimming, and duelling as necessary acccomplishments; while the "exercises" he wholly condemned "are dicing and carding, especially if you play for any great sum of money, or spend, or use or come to meetings or dicing houses, where cheaters meet and cozen young gentlemen of all their money."

Elizabeth.

"A rural diversion [*i.e.* horse-racing] of a kind very opposite to that of angling, may be considered, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, if we compare it with the state to which the rage for gambling has since carried it, as still in its infancy. It was classed, indeed, with hawking and hunting, as a liberal pastime, and almost generally pursued for the mere purpose of exercise or pleasure; hence the moral satirists of the age, the Puritans of the sixteenth century, have recommended it as a substitute for cards and dice. That it was, however, even at this period, occasionally practised in the

spirit of the modern turf, will be evident from the authority of Shakspeare, who says—

> I have heard of *riding wagers*,
> Where horses have been nimbler than the sands
> That run i' the clock's behalf.
>
> *Cymbeline*, Act iii., sc. 2.

And Burton, who wrote at the close of the Shakspearean era, mentions the ruinous consequences of this innovation: 'Horse-races,' he observes, 'are desports of great men, and good in themselves, though many gentlemen by such means gallop quite out of their fortunes.'"—"Shakspeare and His Times," by Nathan Drake, M.D., pp. 288, 289.

Denham, in his "Art of Riding," published in London in 1584, incidentally alludes to the "prosperous and peaceable" reign of Elizabeth, which afforded so many unusual opportunities to the noblemen and gentlemen of this land to keep horses "more for pleasure than service." John Astley, "Maister of hir Majesties Jewell house, and Gentleman of hir priuie chamber," who also published a treatise on horsemanship at this date, occasionally refers to the progress of the *manège* in England in those peaceful days.

Jervis Markham,[29] in his quaint work on "How to chuse, ride, traine, and diet, both Hunting-horses and running Horses," etc. (London: "Printed by James Roberts, *Anno* Dom. 1599"), after adverting to the advice given by his predecessor in equine lore, Maister Blundauill, boldly recommends the "Courser of Arabia" as the *beau idéal* stallion to breed from for the Turf. This animal, he tells us, is of reasonable stature, neither too high nor too low, "but

upright and clean fashioned;" his head is small, lean, and slender; his nostril (if he be angered) wonderfully wide; his eyes like fire, ready to leap out of his head; his ears sharp, small, and somewhat long; his crest high, thin, and firm; his back short, "his chyn a handfull broad and more;" his buttock long, upright, and clean; the stern of his tail "well nie so small as a mans finger, but in strength beyond any other Horse." His legs are small and clean, having no hair on the fetlock; his body slender and round; "in brief, his cote in general is so fine, that it is not possible almost in any part of him but his mane and tail, to catch hold to pull off one hair." This Arabian, which was at this time under our author's charge, was a most delicate bay, "whom if you view in the Sunne," you would judge him either like changeable satin or cloth of gold. This stallion is peerless, "for he hath in him the purity and vertue of all other Horses." "They be so excellent for trauaile," he continues, "that this Arabian (of which I haue the ryding) being trauaild from a parte of Arabia called Angelica to Constantinople, and from thence to the highermost partes of Germanie by lande, and so by Sea to England, yet was he so couragious and lively (hauing no fflesh on his backe) that by no meanes hee coulde bee ruled." Passing from this somewhat ambiguous sentence to the following one, touching the proper time to cover the mares with this peerless stallion, he recommends the period most desirable to be that between mid-March and mid-May, "when the moon had newly changed."

In Chapter IV. our author divulges "The secrets and Art of trayning, and dietting the Horse, for a course: which we commonly call running Horses." After contrasting the steeple-chaser with the racer, and pointing out the difference between the former and a horse whose shape, countenance, and demeanour "promiseth assurance of great swiftness," with its owner addicted only to the "pleasure and exercise" of the Turf, it is necessary, in the first place, to see that being fair and fat, when taken from grass, he is in all points of diet, dress, and order alluded to under the rules and regulations set down and observed in training the chaser. For the space of three weeks or a month he should be fed on wheat-straw and oats. Then hay was substituted for the straw, and bread had to be provided, "which bread shall be made thus: Take a strike of beans, two pecks of wheat, and one peck of rye, grind these together, sift them and knead them with water and bran, and so bake them thoroughly in great loaves, as a peck in a loaf: and after they are a day old at the least your horse may feed on them, but not before." The orthodox sheeting, exercises, etc., are then set forth in detail. These we need not recapitulate here; suffice it to say that when within a fortnight of the date of the race many quaint and exacting duties have to be promptly done and performed.

"Now, lastly," observes our author, in conclusion of this remarkable chapter, "as touching the day in which your Horse must runne for your wager, thus shall you use him: First, the night before, you shall

giue him but a verie little supper, so that hee may be passing empty in the morning, on which morowe haue him out, and ayre him an howre or two before day, taking great care that hee empty himselfe thorowly while he is abroade, then bring him in, and after you haue well rubd all his foure legges, and annoynted them thoroulie, either with Neates-foote oyle, Treane oyle, Sheepes-foote oyle, or Linceede-oyle, all which be the most excellent oyles that may be for a Horse especiallie the two last: Then give him this foode, take a good bigge penny white loafe and cut the same all out into toasts, and toast them against the fire, then steepe them in Muskadine, and lay them betweene hote cloathes, and being layde before the fire dry them agayne, and so giue them to your Horse. These be so pleasant and comfortable, that your Horses empties (as he must be wonderfull empty when he goeth to his course), shall little agreeue him. If you haue not this ready to giue him, if then you giue him halfe a peck of fine Oatemeal well dried, it shal be as good, for though it be not so pleasant, yet being so light a foode as it is, it wil both comfort his stomack, and be soone digested. When he hath eaten this, put on his Mussell, giue him great store of lytter, and unloose his sursingle, that his cloathes may hang loose about him, and so let him stande to take his rest, till the howre in which he must be led forth to runne his wager, not suffering any man to come within your stable, for fear of disquieting your Horse. When the howre is come in which you must leade him out, gyrd on his cloathes handsomely, bridle him up, and then

take your mouth ful of strong Vinegar, and spirt it into your Horses nosethrils, whereof it will search and open his pypes, making them apt for the receite of wind. This done, leade him to the race, and when you come at the end therefore where you must uncloath him, having the Vinegar carried after you, doo the like there, and so bequeath him and your self to God, and good fortune. *Che sera sera.*"

[29] Gervase, Gervas, Jarvise, or Jervis, Markham, son of Robert Markham, Esq., of Cotham, county Nottingham, became an author and poet in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He appears, says Harte, "to be the first English writer who deserves to be called a hackney writer. All subjects seem to have been alike easy to him: yet as his thefts were innumerable, he has now and then stolen some very good things, and in a great measure preserved their memory from perishing." Sir S. E. Brydges says:—"He seems to have become a general compiler for the booksellers, and his various works had as numerous impressions as those of Burn and Buchan in our days." "No subject," says Drake, "appears to have been rejected by Markham: husbandry, housewifery, farriery, horsemanship, and military tactics, hunting, hawking, fowling, fishing, and archery, heraldry, poetry, romances, and the drama, all shared his attention and exercised his genius and industry." The first of his works, entitled "A Discovrce of Horsmanshippe," was published at London by J[ohn] C[harlewood] for Richard Smith, in 1593. His other writings relating to horses and equine subjects were very numerous, and all the editions of these need not be enumerated here. In 1616 Markham was tried in the Star Chamber for publishing a libel on Lord Darcy of the North, and was adjudged to pay a heavy fine, "imprisonment and good behaviour." The quarrel, which took place in the hunting-field at Blith, in June, 1616, arose thus:—Markham had been invited by Sir Gervase Clifton to meet

Lord Darcy at a hunting party. After enjoying the chase for two days, Markham was about to leave, when he was entreated by Lord Darcy to stay another day. Having accepted the invitation, Markham, in the course of the chase upon this occasion, was requested by Beckwith, one of Lord Darcy's followers, not to ride "too neere one of the hounds called Bowser, whereupon he said to him, that if that hound's tail were cut off, it were but a curtailed cur. Beckwith replied: It were better his horse's head were off; and so riding on in the chase, Beckwith again said that though he loved hunting well he had more mind to fight with him than to hunt; whereupon he (Markham) said Beckwith was a base fellow," —a remark the latter resented by "switching of him, and in the switching Markham's saddle winding off his horse, and his foot hitching in his stirrup, Beckwith still switching him, my Lord Darcy came in [up], and took [up] Markham thus hanging from his horse." It seems that Markham was very indignant with the horse-whipping he received from Beckwith, and complained to Lord Darcy for allowing his follower to have acted as he did. "My lord replied: What would you have me to do; had not I been [to your assistance] he would have beaten you to rags; and that Beckwith was as good a gentleman as he." The next day Markham sent two of his kinsmen to Lord Darcy to desire his lordship to explain himself concerning those words; "whereunto my lord answered that he would not give such a fellow as he any other satisfaction than this, that he did not say his man Beckwith was as good a gent as he, but that he was a gent as well as he; and that his meaning of beating to rags was this, that he had ever held, that a child of five years old having a sword in his hand might be revenged of his enemy." This "respectless answer" provoked Markham to write a letter saying that, "he knew my lord was a peer of the realm, but that he had no privilege to abuse any gentleman; and that my Lord Darcy, in saying that his man Beckwith would have beaten him to rags, had lied, and should lie as often as he should say so, and that if he listed to send his boy unto him he would meet him wheresever he would and make good what he said with his life;

and there was a Rowland for his Oliver, and a lie for his indignity." If this letter had been sent to Lord Darcy in the ordinary way, it would have been an ordinary challenge, as justifiable as most challenges; but it seems that, though ready to maintain with his life that Lord Darcy was a liar, he was not prepared to call him a liar to his face: so he contented himself with writing "divers copies" of the letter, and scattering them about the fields—addressed, and signed, but not sealed. Markham appears to have laboured under the impression that Lord Darcy would shelter himself under the privileges of the peerage, and the offices he held under the crown, by virtue of which he was not amenable to meet a commoner, or other person of less rank than himself, in a duel. Many curious points as to status relating to the laws of duels are incidentally mentioned in the pleadings and judgments, the outcome of this incident, which we need not revert to here. The case was heard in the Star Chamber, November 27, 1616, before Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, Dr. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscount Wallingford, the Earl of Arundel, Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Ely, Sir John Digby, the Bishop of London, Sir Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, Chief Justice Montagu, and Chief Justice Hubbert (King's Bench). Sir Fluke Grenville, and Sir Francis Bacon conducted the prosecution, while Serjeant Crew was counsel for Lord Darcy and Serjeant More defended Markham. As before mentioned, the case went against Markham, who was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, and to be committed to prison until he gave a security for his future good behaviour. This excessive fine would have been increased tenfold had it not been for the provocation and summary chastisement Markham received under Beckwith's switch. As to our author's subsequent career, we have only to add that, being bred to arms, he served under the royal forces with some distinction during the civil wars in the ensuing reign. Unfortunately, the times being out of joint precludes any trace of his closing years, and we have been unable to ascertain how, or when, his eventful life came to an end.

The queen's racing establishment was located at her favourite palace, Greenwich—where "the Barbary horse stables" were "well replenished" with those noble animals.* Shakespeare (whom nothing appears to have escaped) refers to this breed of horses as follows :

Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
In limning out a well-proportion'd steed,
His art with nature's workmanship at strife,
As if the dead the living should exceed ;
So did this horse excel a common one,
In shape, in courage, colour, pace, and bone.

Round-hoof'd, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long,
Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostril wide,
High crest, short ears, straight legs, and passing strong,
Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide :
Look what a horse should have, he did not lack,
Save a proud rider on so proud a back.

Sometime he scuds far off, and there he stares ;
Anon he starts at stirring of a feather :
To bid the wind a base he now prepares,
And whe'r he run, or fly, they know not whether ;
For through his mane and tail the high wind sings,
Fanning the hairs, who wave like feather'd wings.

Besides the Barbary horse stable, Elizabeth had stables at Waltham, St. Albans, Oaklands, Eaton, Hampton Court, Richmond, Windsor, and Charing Cross.

At Greenwich the queen usually kept forty coursers, or race-horses, two jockeys—namely, Andrew Alley and Romano Marchafdinge, a "surveyor of the race," who had £22 a year—two keepers of the coursers, who had each 6*d.* a day ; seven hackneys were annually allowed and kept to attend upon "the coursers at the races."

* Wardrobe Acc. T.C., Bag F, Series i., Bundle ii., 428, m. 1. MS., P.R.O. L.T.R. Works and Buildings, *Ibid.*

There were also two "yeomen of the races," with an annual salary of £22 3*s.* 4*d.*,* whose names were Thomas Bascavild and Thomas Alsop.†

A curious account of the queen's horses (about 1589), rendered by Thomas Underwood, may be seen in the Public Record Office, in which the names, colour, and description of the principal animals are recorded. Thus Grey Bingham was given to Sir Philip Sidney, Pide Markham to the French ambassador, Gray Dosby to Archibald Douglas, Bay Harrington to Doctor Baylie, Grey Stanhope to Sir Roger Williams, Bay Roseberry to "the Prince of Orange his son," and so on—the colour of the horse, after the custom of the time, usually preceding the name commonly synonymous with the breeder or owner. ‡

Among the venatic officers attached to the court of Queen Elizabeth, John Selwyn was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship. He was under-keeper of the park at Oaklands, in Surrey, where a small stud of hunters was kept at one time. On one occasion, when in attendance on the queen, at a grand stag-hunt in that park, he, in the heat of the chase, suddenly leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag (both running at that time with their utmost speed), and not only kept his seat gracefully in spite of every effort of the affrighted beast, but drawing his *couteau de chasse*, with it he guided him towards the queen, and coming near to her presence, plunged it in his throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet. This was thought sufficiently wonderful to be chronicled on

* State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. 233, No. 69, fo. 139–140.
† Docquet Book, sub dato. P.R.O.
‡ State Papers, Dom., Eliz., vol. 224, No. 80, fo. 160–163.

his monument in the church of Walton-on-Thames, and he is accordingly there portrayed in the act of stabbing the beast. He died March 27, 1587.*

Holinshed gives the following contemporaneous description of horse-breeding in England at this period :— †

"Our horsses moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pase, it is hard to saie where there like are to be had. Our land dooth yéeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horsses (for we vse them indifferentlie) are commonlie so strong that fiue or six of them (at the most) will draw thrée thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vsage, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie foot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or four quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I have elsewhere remembered. Such as are kept for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without any hurt or hindrance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it commeth to passe, that when the quéenes maiestie dooth remooue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horsses, appointed out of the counties adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horsses is in a maner vtterlie relinquished, which causes the traines of our princes in their progresses to

* "Antiquarian Repository," vol. i., p. 2, London, 1807.

† Holinshed, Chron. Eng., edit. Lond., 1807, vi., p. 370.

shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations. *Geldings.* Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie déere among vs, especiallie if they be well coloured iustlie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pase. For our countriemen, séeking their ease euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent pases, which beside that it is in a maner peculiar vnto horsses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer veries pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pase dooth yéeld comfortable sound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vsed anie wher than among our horsse-keepers, horsse-corsers, and hostlers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false tricke or other. There are certaine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horses and colts is bought and sold and whereunto such as haue néed resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuers other. But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too too (*sic*) lewd in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourney of the market, to driue them till they sweat, and for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this means doo fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horsses as are dailie brought ouer vnto us I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, the Scotish nag, bicause that further spéech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest

sort) King Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had very good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late had bred the best horsses in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 30,000 mares and 300 stallions as Strabo dooth remember, Lib. 16."

That due attention, in some counties, was paid to the provisions of the Act to keep up the breed of horses, is apparent from the following presentment at quarter-sessions, at Salford, Lancashire, at this period:—

"Hundred de Salford: The Presentm^tes of the Jurates theire whoe saye that concerninge the Carryinge or conveying of horses and mares out of this Realme theye fynde nothinge. And as towchinge thincrease & breedinge of horses, geldinges and mares the said Jurates saye that the Right ho. Edward Therle of Derby hath ij parkes w^thin the said hundreth. The one Contayinge in Quantity 3 myles Compas, and the other one myle, and hath mares for breede accordinge to the statute. Edmunde Trafford esq^r hath ij parkes w^t in the said hundrethe, either of them contayninge in Quantitie twooe myles Compas, and hath mares for breed accordinge to the Statute. Robert Worsley knight hath one parke in the said hundreth, contayning in ij myles in Compasse, and hath mares for breede accordinge to the Statute. John Byron esq^r hath one parke in the saidde hundrethe contayninge in Quantitie ij myles in Compas & hath mares for breede according to the statute. John Bothe esq^r hath one parke in the said hundrethe contayninge in Quantity ij myles Compas and hath mares for breede accordinge to the statute."
—Harl. MSS., 1926, fol. 38*a*.

Considerable attention was given to the due observance of the statute for improving the breed of horses. The performance of these duties now devolved on the Earl of Surrey, in whose hands they were effectually carried out; and the commissioners for increasing and improving the breed of

horses of every description in the country, performed their duties with commendable zeal. Instructions under various heads were issued to the deputy-commissioners in every county for the better carrying into effect the purposes of their commission, and the Earl of Surrey took upon himself to see that it was duly executed in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Kent,* and by sub-commissioners in other parts of the kingdom.†

In March, 1584, the Queen nominated Lord Burghley Lord High Treasurer; Edward, Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral; George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal; Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council in the North; Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ordinance; Francis, Earl of Bedford, Robert, Earl of Leicester, Masters of the Horse; Charles, Lord Howard, Lord Chamberlain; Henry, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Warden of the East Marshes; Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Walls; and Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain, Commissioners for putting into execution the statute for the increase and breed of horses, and for keeping horses and geldings for public service.

By the statute 13 Richard II. (A.D. 1390), St. i., c. 8, it was enacted "that no Hosteller make horsebread in his hostry or

* State Papers, Domestic, Eliz. P.R.O., vol. cxliv.

† William Brereton says in his report to the Earl of Leicester, dated October 3: "As for our mares, we have certified the number the law requires at our hands; but we find none are chargeable but such as have parks, chases, or inclosed grounds for deer, and many of these daily decay. If some law should be made that every gentleman charged with the keeping of a demi-lance or light horseman might also be charged with the keeping of as many mares for breeding, then our number of mares in Cheshire would be well increased, and consequently the like increase throughout all England, which would raise the breed of horses, now declined" (Ibid. 27, 47). In the North of England great disinclination prevailed among the owners of horses to furnish a true report to the commissioners. "I find by proof," writes the Earl of Huntingdon to Secretary Walsingham, "that he who has six good horses is scarcely willing at a muster to show one; unless compelled by law; for all men here have no liking to be enrolled in a muster-book, but if called in this sort, will willingly charge themselves to the uttermost" (*Ibid.*, Add. vol. 30, A.D. 1588).

without, but bakers shall make it; and the assise thereof shall be kept, and that the weight be reasonable after the price of the corn in the market; and also that the same hostellers shall sell hay and oats after a reasonable price, so that they take not for the bushel but one halfpenny over the common price in the market."

Horsebread.

In 1402 the preceding statute was confirmed by the Act 4 Henry IV. c. 25: "And if any hostler do to the contrary, and that duly proved, the same hostler shall from time to time incur the penalty of treble value of the bread made by him in his house or elsewhere, contrary to the said statute; and also the said hostler shall incur the quatreble value of that which he hath taken over a halfpenny of every bushel of oats above the common price in the market, and that as well at the suit of the king as of the party."

In 1540 the Statute 32 Henry VIII. c. 41 was passed, by which the making of horsebread according to the assise, etc., was further legislated upon. After reciting the statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. against inn-holders making horsebread, it was now enacted that from henceforth "it may and shall be lawful for every hosteler or inholder dwelling in any town or village being a thoroughfare or common passage within this realm, and being no city town or market town wherein any common baker exercising the occupation of baking, and had been a prentice at the said occupation, by the space of seven yeares may make within his house horsebread sufficient lawful and of due assise, according to the price of the grains of corn that now is and hereafter shall be from time to time; any thing or things mentioned in the said acts or statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. to the contrary nowithstanding."

"And be it also enacted etc. that if the horsebread which any of the said hostelers and inholders hereafter shall make be not of sufficient lawful and of due assise according to the price of grains of corne as is abovesaid, Then the Justices of the Peace etc. shall have full power to enquire here and determine the said defaults and offences of the said hostlers and inholders hereafter to be committed against the form of

this present statute, and to cess such fines and make like process thereon as they commonly do upon presentments of trespass against the peace etc."

In 1624, by the Act 21 James I. the preceding laws were repealed; but it was enacted that innholders should not make horsebread except in villages where there was no baker; they were also to sell their provender at market price, without taking anything for litter.

"Colonel Kowatch, who in the American service commanded the infantry of Pulaski's legion, had been an old partisan officer in the north of Europe, and had commanded a large corps of irregular horse, either Cossacks, Croats, or Pandours. He fled to America after the troubles of Poland. 'He told me,' says Mr. Peters, 'that they often baked the chopped or ground grain for their horses, having previously formed it into portable cakes.' The saccharine quality was, no doubt, produced by this process, and its alimentary properties increased. General Parlaski had a favourite charger, to whom he often gave bread, which the animal seemed to enjoy far beyond any other food. In Holland it is a common practice to give horses rye-bread, or baked provender. The late Sheriff Penrose, who had a fine team of working horses, was in the habit of buying condemned ship bread, as the most nutritious and cheapest horse-feed. He said others knew and profited by its advantages."—"Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society," vol. i.

Landed and house property in and about Newmarket does not appear to have been of much value in the sixteenth century. In the 11 of Henry VIII. Christopher Sandford, gentleman, and Emma, his wife, let to Sir Ralph Chamberleyn all that part of the manor of Newmarket in the counties of Cambridge and Suffolk, belonging to the said Emma, with all the lands, revisions, services, leets, fairs, tolls, etc., in Exning and Newmarket, for the term of the life of the said Emma,

at a yearly rent of £6. In the 24 Henry VIII. Sir Giles Alington, Knight, granted a lease to Henry Funston, of Wood-Peyton, yeoman, of all those lands, meadows, and pastures in Newmarket and Exning, with the "Folde Course" belonging to the same, then in the occupation of Joan Whithall, of Newmarket, widow, for twenty years, at £4 6s. per annum. In 16 Elizabeth, John Markant, of Burwell, for fourteen score pounds, sold, to John Apleyard, of Newmarket, the Saracen's Head Inn, in Newmarket, with the appurtenances, and 15 acres of land in Newmarket, Dyton, Saxton, Cheveley, and Exning, which were bequeathed to him by his uncle, John Markant. These high contracting parties are denominated husbandmen. Newmarket boasted of another large inn—the Angel—in those days of Good Queen Bess;* and probably many less notable hostels for the accommodation of "man and beast" flourished in other parts of the town about this period.

The following copy of the will of Symon Folkys, junior, of Newmarket, dated January 4, 1526-7, contains an allusion to an old custom in the construction of the houses in the Market Place:—

"In Dei Noie'. Amen. The iiij daye of Jan. in the yer of our Lord God M¹.V°.XXVI. I Symond Folkys the younger of Newmarket in the Dioc̃. of Norwich beinge in hool mynde, make my last Wyll & Testament. Furst I bequeth my Soul to Almightie God & our Layde St. Marie & to all the Seyntes in Heven, & my Body to be buried within

* MS. Additional 5823, fo. 240, 243. Brit. Mus.

the Churchyard of our Ladye in Newmarket. Item I bequeth to the High Altar ther 3*s.* 4*d.* Item to Anne my wife my hous, & the Scoppis from this tyme to the term of 24 yeares, & then to go to Robt. my son: and my son William to have the ground & the Shops from the Parlor to the Turner's shops. Item to Elizabeth my daughter the Tenement that my Mother holds, after her decease, & then after her decease to my sister Johan Clarke till the sum of 40*s.* be paid her children to be heirs one to the other in case of decease without heirs, & in case they all die without heirs, That Richard my brother have the whole paying out of the said goodes yerly for the health of my father, my own, & my friends souls for 20 years, 20 shillings. Item I will that my brother doe make, yf he possesse y^t a dore throwe the Schoppis into the Market after the old custums. Item I do appoint W^m. Buttel my Ex^r. These witnesses, Sir Albert Harris Parson &c.

"Endorsed. 'Probat fiul coram nobis Diu Archi Sudbm. 7. Maij. 1527.'"

In the year 1589 a suit was instituted in the High Court of Chancery by Henry Greene, Robert Greene, Thomas Greene, and Haggas Greene, sons of Richard Greene, deceased, against Theodor Goodwyn, to redeem the Swan Inn, situated in the Cambridgeshire part of the town, and ten acres of land "in the fields of Ditton," which had been mortgaged by Richard Greene, father of the plaintiffs, to Thomas Frankes, for the delivery of a certain quantity of malt, from which we may deduce that malting was a somewhat

important industry in Newmarket in those days as it was in later times.*

The earliest return of the taxation of Newmarket preserved in the Record Office, belongs to the time of Henry VIII. It relates to the lay subsidy granted to the English Blue Beard in the twenty-second and twenty-third years of his reign. The roll is very much torn and faded; the sums levied and collected are obliterated, and only a few names are decipherable, viz.: Thomas Borowdale, Thomas Dove, Thomas Markent, Johane Whytall, and John Archer.

By a similar document for the thirty-seventh year of his reign, it transpires that the valuation of the property in Newmarket (Suffolk) was assessed at £163 13*s.* 4*d.*, upon which the amount of taxes collected was £7 18*s.*; and in the division in Cambridgeshire the sum collected came to £12 6*s.* 4*d.*†

By comparing the subjoined transcriptions it will be seen that very little change had taken place down to the reign of Edward VI.:—

37 Henry VIII. Newmarket, Suffolk.

		ASSESSMENT.	TAXES.
Of Edward Norton .	for his goods	£15 . .	15*s.*
Of John Rowse . .	„	£10 . .	10*s.*
Of John Byers . .	„	£13 6*s.* 8*d.* .	13*s.* 4*d.*
Of John Kyrley	for his lands and tents	£6 . .	12*s.*
Of William Cook .	for his goods	£13 6*s.* 8*d.* .	13*s.* 4*d.*
Of Ric. Berdall .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of John Scallworthy .	„	£8 . .	5*s.* 4*d.*
Of Margaret Fonston	„	£15 . .	15*s.*

* Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth, G. g. No. 44. MS., P.R.O.
† Lay Subsidies, $\frac{81}{28}\frac{1}{3}a$ 8. MS., P.R.O.

		ASSESSMENT.	TAXES.
Of Elizabeth Turnor	„	£16 . .	16*s.*
Of Robert Ray . .	„	£6 . .	4*s.*
Of Thomas Turnor .	„	£6 . .	4*s.*
Of Edmn'de Chapman	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of John Papworth .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of Thomas Aldrich .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of Jone King . .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of Roger Carton .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of John Whyght .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of John Corde . .	„	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*
Of Harry Dey	his land and tents.	£2 . .	4*s.*
Of Jonn Aldrich	„	£2 . .	4*s.*
Of John Ray . .	„	£1 . .	2*s.*
Of John Cakebred .	„	£2 . .	4*s.*
Of Richard Regmell	„	£1 . .	2*s.*
Of Lenard Bell .	„	£2 . .	4*s.*
Of John Mortlak .	for his goods	£5 . .	3*s.* 4*d.*

37 Henry VIII. Newmarket, Cambs.

Thomas Borowdayle	for his lands	40*s.*
Thomas Dove	for goods	50*s.* 4*d.*
John Markant	„	20*s.*
Johan Whittall (widdow) . . .	„	40*s.*
William	„	26*s.*
Robert Smythe	„	10*s.*
Robert Mausant	„	3*s.* 4*d.*
Thomas Jaxson	„	3*s.* 4*d.*
Lawrence Marten	„	10*s.*
William Hamonde	for his land	2*s.*
William Headeley	„	2*s.*
Nycholas Sepewell	for goods	10*s.*
Anthony Rosyngton	„	26*s.* 4*d.*

1 Edward VI. Cambs.

Thomas Borowdale . . .	£20 . .	40*s.*
Thomas Dove	£40 . .	53*s.* 4*d.*

	ASSESSMENT.	TAXES.
John Markant	£10	20s.
Antony Rosyngton	£20	26s. 8d.
Jhone Whitall	£20	26s. 8d.
William Chapman	£15	10s.
Robert Smythe	£10	10s.
Robert Markant	£5	3s. 4d.
Thomas Jacson	£5	3s. 4d.
William Hamonde	£1	2s.

2 & 3 EDWARD VI. SUFFOLK.

Of John Berde	for his goods	£10	10s.
Of Edward Norton	„	£15	15s.
Of John Kyrby	„	£10	10s.
Of John Eyers	„	£10	10s.
Of John Rowsse	„	£10	10s.
Of Elizabeth Turnor	„	£12	12s.
Of John Papworthy	„	£10	10s.
Of William Coke	„	£10	10s.
Of Robert Turnor	„	£10	10s.
Of Nicholas Callow (an alien)	„	£2	2s.

The following extracts from the returns of the collectors of Taxes levied upon the inhabitants of Newmarket show the names of the principal residents in the town in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Occasionally the occupations followed by those residing in that part of Newmarket situated in Cambridgeshire are given :—

1 ELIZABETH. NEWMARKET, CAMBS.

Richarde Burdall, yeoman	in land	£10	26s. 8d.
Richarde Bradley, gentleman	„	£10	26s. 8d.
John Markeham, grocer	„	£10	26s. 8d.
Nicholas Fan, fisher	„	£7	18s. 8d.
George Payne, h[ouseholder]	„	£1 6s. 8d.	3s. 7d.

		ASSESSMENT.	TAXES.
John Bullerd, fisher	in goods	£5	8*s.* 4*d.*
William Hamaute, h[ouseholder]	in land	£1	2*s.* 8*d.*
Leonarde Beale, inholder	„	£10	26*s.* 8*d.*
John Smyth, yeoman	„	£6	16*s.*
John Phillipp, wheelewright	„	£1	2*s.* 8*d.*
		Total, £7	19*s.* 7*d.*

5 ELIZABETH. NEWMARKET, SUFFOLK.

Thomas Richardson	in land	£1	2*s.* 8*d.*
Adam Paske	in money	£3	5*s.* 0*d.*
Amya, Stalworthe, widdow	„	£6	10*s.* 0*d.*
Robert Raye	„	£10	16*s.* 8*d.*
John Berde	„	£10	16*s.* 8*d.*
Elizabeth Archer, widdow	in land	£4	10*s.* 8*d.*
Richard Acton	in money	£5	8*s.* 4*d.*
Thomas Redgwell	„	£5	8*s.* 4*d.*
Elizabeth Turner, widdow	in land	£2	5*s.* 4*d.*
Richard Grene	„	£2	5*s.* 4*d.*
John Golden	„	£4	10*s.* 8*d.*
Nicholas Calowe, an alien	in money	£5	13*s.* 8*d.*
Richard Pyckard	„	£3	5*s.* 0*d.*
John Hudson	„	£7	11*s.* 8*d.*
Thomas Daune	„	£5	8*s.* 4*d.*
William Channdelor	in land	£5	8*s.* 0*d.*
Richard Dredgeman	„	£1 10*s.*	2*s.* 8*d.*
John Kyrbie	in money	£20	33*s.* 4*d.*
Robert Turnor	„	£15	25*s.* 0*d.*
David Eyre	„	£10	16*s.* 8*d.*
X'pofer Funston	in land	£4	10*s.* 8*d.*
		Total, £11	17*s.* 8*d.*

5 ELIZABETH. NEWMARKET, CAMBS.

John Markham, mercer	in land	£12	32*s.* 0*d.*
Richard Fanne, singleman	„	£8	21*s.* 4*d.*
Richard Bradley, yeoman	„	£2	5*s.* 4*d.*
John King, fishmonger	„	£1	2*s.* 8*d.*

		ASSESSMENT.	TAXES.
William Hamand, labourer	„	£1	2s. 8d.
John Phippes, wheelwright	in goods	£3	5s. 0d.
John Appleyard, h[ouseholder]	„	£3	5s. 0d.
John Morden, draper	„	£3	5s. 0d.
Thomas Archer, baker	„	£3	5s. 0d.
Robte. Bungey, pedler	„	£3	5s. 0d.
James Newce, "alien for his poole"			4d.
John Ballard, fishmonger	in goods	£5	8s. 4d.
John Smythe, yeoman	in land	£6 13s. 4d.	17s. 9½d.
Richard Bardall	„	£12	32s. 0d.
Leonard Beale, inkeeper	„	£10	26s. 8d.

Total amount of taxation, £8 16s. 9½d.

We have no actual evidence of Queen Elizabeth ever having been at Newmarket, but it may not be improbable that during the time when, as Princess, she was a state prisoner at Kirtling Hall, under the charge of Edward, first Lord North, that she paid an occasional visit to the town and its famous Heath.

Kirtling is five miles south-east from Newmarket. Kirtling Tower, the seat of the Hon. W. H. J. North, J.P., is all that now remains of the whilom prison of the Princess Elizabeth. After her accession, she was at Cambridge in August, 1564, and during the royal progress through Norfolk and Suffolk in July and August, 1578, her Majesty visited Audley End, Hengrave, Barrow, Bury, and Euston.

Church Property: "William Bolton, Rector of Newmarket, is worth yearly in glebe lands 20s. Tithes, oblations, and other casual profits in average years, 107s. 10d. Total, £6 7s. 10d. Thereof, for pension paid to the Abbot of Battle, 26s. 8d. For procurations to the Archdeacon of Sudbury, 4s. For sinodel to the Lord Bishop, 2s. Total, 32s. 8d. And remains £4 15s. 2d. Thereof for the tenth, 9s. 6¼d."—"Valor Ecclesiasticus," vol. iii., p. 495 *b*.

BOOK III.

ROYAL SOJOURNS AT NEWMARKET, JAMES I.

1605—1614.

Introduction: The King's first visit—Proceedings of the Royal party in the town—The Newmarket knights—A royal hunt—Field sports—Departure of the King and court—*The Earl of Worcester—The Earl of Salisbury—Dr. Gilbert Primrose—Sir Alan Percy—Sir Dudley Carleton*—1607. Royal sojourn in the autumn—The King in the dumps—Foul weather spoils sport—Hunting and hawking under difficulties—Great concourse of courtiers at Newmarket—One of the royal jerfalcons lost—The King inconsolable—Exodus from Newmarket to Huntingdon—Horse-match between Lord Haddington and Lord Sheffield—Court gossip—Lord Rutland and the forest laws—The Griffin Inn purchased by the King—Probable site of the palace—Other conjectures—*Bishop Andrews—Sir George Chaworth—Viscount Haddington—Lord Sheffield*—1608. More about the Griffin—The freehold purchased by the King—Copy of the conveyance—Royal visit in the Spring—The Secretary of State for the sporting journeys—*Sir Thomas Lake*—Royal visit in the Autumn—Prolonged sojourn of the King and court—The royal sports—Affairs of State—1609. Brief visit of the King in February—Passing events at the court during the royal sojourn—Honours and emoluments showered on the Scotch—The cold shoulder given to the English courtiers—*Edmund Lacells*—The October meeting—Arrival of the King and court—Protracted sojourn of the King—Inclement weather—The sports suspended in consequence of the frost—The King's indignation—Vents his spleen in verse—Favourable change in the weather—The matches take place—Hard riding—Hunting and hawking—Illness of Henry, Prince of Wales—The King wins his matches—More bad weather—Another change for the better—More matches—The King defeated by the *Earl of Dunbar—Sir Alexander Hay*—Passing events at Newmarket—Life in the

palace—Political incidents—Bishop Hacket's justification of the King's conduct—Business and recreation at Newmarket—The King makes a book—Theology—State of the roads between London and Newmarket—"Essex miles"—Royal injunctions to repair the Newmarket road—And the cost—1610. Visit of the King in May—Arrival of the Prince of Wirtemberg—And French dancing and fencing masters to instruct the Prince of Wales in those arts—1611. Sojourns of the King in the Spring and Autumn—*Sir Roger Aston*—Arrival of a present of falcons from the King of Denmark—Visit of the Swedish ambassador—Paucity of sporting intelligence—Plethora of routine affairs—The roads again—£. s. d.—Royal order to increase the value of the currency—The standard weight of the coins of the realm—Passing events—Sir Dudley Diggs' hobby—The royal mint—Anecdote of the Spanish ambassador and the King—Mode of furnishing the lodgings of the Corps Diplomatique at Newmarket—*The Earl of Suffolk*—1612. Brief visit of the King in the Spring—1613. Royal sojourns in January, February, March, and November—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth—Arrival of the bride, bridegroom, the royal family, and the court—The royal disports—Departure of the Queen of Bohemia—Her hounds and horses—Alleged collapse of the palace—Narrow escape of the King—*Lord Chancellor Egerton*—The preachers in ordinary for the sporting journeys—Their expenses at Newmarket—The royal farriers and their expenses—"Comparisons are odious"—1614. Arrival of the King in January—The cares of state—Royal visit in July—Arrival of the King of Denmark—The royal sports—The Autumn meetings—Serious accident to the King—Quarrel between the *Earl of Montgomery* and *Lord Walden* about their matches—Incidental expenses at the palace during the royal visits.

"Newmarket has long been celebrated in the annals of horsemanship for its extensive heath, which, in the neighbourhood of this town, has been formed into one of the finest race-courses in the kingdom. The diversion of horse-racing, though undoubtedly practised in this country in the time of the Romans, does not appear to have made any considerable progress, but rather became extinct, till the accession of James the First, who again introduced it from Scotland, where it came into vogue from the spirit and swiftness of the Spanish horses which had been wrecked in the

vessels of the Armada and thrown ashore on the coast of Galloway.* From this period it became more fashionable, and Newmarket had probably some kind of a racing establishment as early as the reign of this monarch, who erected a house here, which was destroyed in the Civil Wars, but was rebuilt by Charles II."†

The earliest intimation we have met with relating to the first visit of James I. to Newmarket occurs in a letter from the Earl of Worcester to Lord Cranborne, dated Royston, February 25, 1604–5, in which he mentions (*inter alia*) that "His Majesty meanethe tomorowe to take his journey towards Newmarket whe he myndeth to bestow 3 or 4 days, and so to Thetford yf he lyke the country."‡ The next day the king, accompanied by his Master of the Horse,[30] his Principal Minister,[31] his Chief Physician,[32] his Gentleman of the Bedchamber,[33] a portion of his

February. 1605.

* It would be interesting to find some contemporary authority for this statement. There is no reference to horses having been cast ashore on the Scotch coast from the wreck of the Spanish Armada to be found in the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland. James Melville, in his Autobiography, alludes to the panic created in Edinburgh in August, 1588, when the descent of the "Spaniards and Barbars" on the Scotch coast was deemed imminent. "Terrible was the feir," he says, "pressing was the pretchings, ernest, zealus, and fervent was the prayers, sounding was the siches and sobbes, and abounding was the teares, at that Fast and Generall Assemblie keepit at Edinburche, when the newes was crediblie tauld, sum tymes of launding at Dunbar, sum tymes at St. Androis and in Tay, and now and then at Aberdin and Cromertie first. And in verie deid, as we knew certinlie soone after, the Lord of Armies, wha rydes upon the wings of the winds, the keipar of his awin Israell, was in the mean tyme convoying that monstrous navie about our costes, and directing thair hulkes and galiates to the ylands, rokkes, and sandes, wharupon he haid destinat thair wrak and destruction" (p. 306).

† Nichols' "Progress of James the First," Lond. 1828, vol. i., p. 496.

‡ Lodge, "Illustrations of British History," vol. iii., pp. 264–266.

hunting establishment, and a numerous *suite* of court officials, arrived in Newmarket, when his Majesty knighted two gentlemen.* The following day four more knights were duly dubbed, and then the royal party sallied forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The result is thus described in the parish register at Fordham: "1604–5. Upon Wednesday, the 27 of February, the high and mighty Prince James, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, Defender of the Faith, &c., did hunt the hare, with his own hounds, in the fields of Fordham, and did kill six near a place called Buckland; and did afterwards take his repast in the field at a bush near the King's Park." Sir Alan Percy,[34] writing from Newmarket, about this date, to Sir Dudley Carleton,[35] mentions that the court was "extremely occupied with field-sports." † Beyond these few facts no further particulars are traceable touching the first sojourn of James I. to our "little village."

[30] Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, son and heir of William Somerset, the 3rd Earl, K.G., and Christian, daughter of Edward North, Lord North of Kirtling, near Newmarket, succeeded to the family honours and estates on the death of his father, February 21, 1589. His lordship married Elizabeth, daughter of Frances, Earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had several children. In 1604 he was invested with the order of the Garter, and on resigning his office of Master of the Horse to James I., on January 1, 1616, having

* James I. made ninety-nine knights at Newmarket during his reign. Their names are chronologically given at the end of Book IV. The barons, earls, knights of the garter, etc., created at Newmarket, are recorded (*inter alia*) in the text.

† State Papers, Domestic, vol. 12, No. 93.

retained it for fifteen years (the longest unbroken period on record), he was, on the 2nd of the same month, made Keeper of the Privy Seal. Mr. Henry Dircks records that this nobleman "was remarkable for athletic acquirements, distinguishing himself by the manly exercises of riding and tilting, in which he was perhaps superior to any of his contemporaries; his horsemanship having been greatly extolled by all writers, in alluding to his character." Sir Robert Maunton says that, in the days of good Queen Bess, the Earl of Worcester "was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the time, which [accomplishments] were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court, and such as took up the applause of men, as well as the praise and commendation of ladies." Towards the close of his life the noble earl was usually apostrophized by his contemporaries as "the last of the queen's (Elizabeth) old courtiers." That the earl's post of Master of the Horse was no sinecure may be gathered from the following passage of a familiar letter which his lordship wrote from Royston, December 4, 1604, to the Earl of Shrewsbury: "Had not this journey to Huntingdon drawn me from the place of all advertesments youe showld have herd from mee beefore this, and since my departure from London I thinke I have not had 2 howers of 24 of rest but Sundays, for in the morning wee ar on horsbacke by 8, & so continew in full carryer from the deathe of one hare to another, untyll 4 at nyght; then for the most part, wee are 5 myles from home; by that tyme I find at my lodging some tymes one, most comonly 2 packets of letters, all wch must bee awnswered beefore I sleep, for heare is none of the Cownsell but my self no not a clarke of the Cownsell nor privey signet, so that an ordinary warrant for post horse must pass my own hand, my own secretary being syke at London: And, I thank God, never better in healthe; but wishe hartely to be backe at London, as youe thinke I have cawse, being far from my humor to turn pen man at theas yeares." Writing from Thetford, March 3, 1604–5, to Lord Cranborne, the earl refers to the king's illness: "The reason yt hathe so long continued hathe been the sharpness of the ayr and wynd; for every day that he huntethe he takes

a cowld; for being hote wth ryding a long chace, he sittethe in the open ayr and drinketh, wch cannot but continew, yf not increase, a new cowld." His lordship adds that the king "lykethe exceeding well the contrey, and ys resolved for certayn to stay thes 5 dayes in this town. He hathe been but once abrode a huntyng since his coming hether, and that day he was driven owt of the feeld wth presse of company, wch came to see him; but therein he tooke no great delyght, therefore came home, and playd at cards. Sr Wyliam Woodhowse, that is sole director of theas parts, hath devised a proclamation that none shall presume to come to him on hunting days; but those that come to see him, or prefer petitions, shall doe yt going forthe, or coming home." Probably the most arduous duty that ever fell to the Earl of Worcester's lot was in connection with the Queen Consort's progress to Bath in April, 1613; but as usual he performed his devoir without a hitch, and frequently did the honours of the royal tour, through what may be termed his own country, with such profuse hospitality and liberality, that it must have cost him a small fortune. Her Majesty only stayed ten days at Bath, yet the little excursion is said to have cost the royal exchequer the enormous sum of £30,000. The earl died at his town residence, Worcester House, in the Savoy, March 3, 1627–8, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and his remains were conveyed with great solemnity to his family seat, Raglan Castle, in Monmouthshire, where they were interred in the family vault. The present Duke of Beaufort is a real chip of the old block.

[31] Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury—youngest son of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's celebrated High Treasurer, by his second wife, Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook—was born, probably, about the year 1550, and, being of a weak constitution, was tenderly brought up by his mother, and educated under a careful and excellent tutor till he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained the degree of M.A. He represented the city of Westminster in the Parliaments of 1585 and 1586, and in some

subsequent sessions sat for the county of Hertford. In 1588 he was one of the young nobility who volunteered to serve on board the English fleet sent against the Spanish Armada. He was a courtier from his cradle, having the advantage of the instructions and experience of his illustrious father; and, living in those times when Queen Elizabeth had most need of the ablest persons, was employed in affairs of the highest importance, and received the honour of knighthood in June, 1591, and in August following was sworn of the Privy Council. In 1596 he was appointed Secretary of State, to the great displeasure of the Earl of Essex, who was then absent in the expedition against Cadiz. Whilst he was in that post he showed an indefatigable address in procuring foreign intelligence from all parts of the world, holding, at his own charge, a correspondence with all ambassadors and neighbouring states. By this means he discovered Queen Elizabeth's enemies abroad and private conspiracies at home, and was on this account as highly valued by the queen as he was hated by the Ultramontane party, who vented their malice against him in several libels, and threatened to murder him. In 1579 he was constituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In February, 1597–8, he went to France, to endeavour to divert Henry IV. from the treaty at Vervins; and in May, 1599, succeeded his father in the office of the Court of Wards, for which he resigned a better place, that of Chancellor of the Duchy, being so restrained in the Court of Wards, by new orders, that he was, as he expressed it, a ward himself. He succeeded his father likewise in the post of principal minister of State, and from that time public affairs seem to have been entirely under his direction. Though he was faithful to Queen Elizabeth, yet he kept a secret correspondence with her successor, King James, in which he was once in great danger of being discovered by the queen. This happened on one occasion when her Majesty was witnessing (to use a modern phrase) the work done by her Barbary horses upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and the Middle Park. A post riding by *en route* to the palace, she inquired whence it came; and being told from Scotland, she stopped to receive it. Sir

Robert Cecil, who attended her, knowing there were in it some letters from his correspondents, with great presence of mind called immediately for a knife to cut open the packet, that a delay might not create suspicion. When he came to cut it open, he told the queen it looked and smelt Edinboro'ish, and therefore was proper to be opened and aired before she saw what it contained; to which her Majesty consented, having an extreme aversion to bad smells. Upon the queen's decease, Cecil was the first who publicly read her will, and proclaimed James VI. of Scotland King of England; and his former services to that monarch, or the interest of Sir George Hume, afterwards Earl of Dunbar, so effectually recommended him to his Majesty, that he took him into the highest degree of favour, and continued him in his office of principal minister; and though in that reign public affairs were not carried on with the same spirit as in the last, the fault cannot justly be charged on this minister, but on the king, whose timid temper induced him to have peace with all the world, and especially with Spain, at any price. But though Sir Robert Cecil was far from approving, in his heart, the corrupt measures taken for obtaining that inglorious peace, yet he so far ingratiated himself with the British Solomon that he was raised to greater honours: being on May 13, 1603, created Baron of Essenden, county Rutland; on August 20, 1604, Viscount Cranbourne, county Dorset (the first nobleman of that degree who bore a coronet); and on May 4, 1605, Earl of Salisbury. Upon the death of Sir Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, in April, 1608, the Earl of Salisbury succeeded him in that post; and his advancement to it was universally applauded, a great reformation being expected from him in the Exchequer, which he accordingly effected. Finding it almost exhausted, he devised several means for replenishing it with money, particularly by causing the royal manors to be surveyed, which before were but imperfectly known; by reviving the custody of Crown lands; by commissions of assets; by improving the customs from £86,000 to £120,000 and afterwards to £135,000 per annum, and similar measures, including the surrender of his patent of Master of the Wards

to the king, for his benefit and advantage. His indefatigable application to business having ruined his constitution, he died at Marlborough on his return from Bath, May 24, 1612, and was buried at Hatfield. The Earl of Salisbury married Elizabeth, sister to the unhappy Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, by whom he had a daughter, Frances, married to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and an only son, William, second Earl of Salisbury. His descendant, James, 7th Earl of Salisbury, was advanced to the title of Marquis by George III., in 1789.

Sir Anthony Weldon (and some other contemporary writers have) asserted that the Earl of Salisbury "persuaded the King to leave the State Affairs, and to betake himselfe to some Country recreations, which they found him addicted unto, for the City, and businesse, did not agree with him; and, to that end purchased, built, and repaired at *New-market*, and *Royston*, and this pleased the Kings humour well, rather that he might enjoy his Favorite with more privacy, than that he loved the sport," etc.; but we have been unable to find any confirmation of the allegation, so far as it relates to Newmarket; and there can be little, if any, doubt that our account of the palace there is substantially correct. We have only to add, in conclusion of this memoir, that this Earl of Salisbury (who was addicted to falconry, and "stuck not to give gold" for a good hawk) was a frequent visitor to Newmarket during this period. He also imported, and bred from, Arab horses. "Beagle" was the *soubriquet* by which the king usually addressed the earl when his Majesty was hilarious.

Salisbury was constantly surrounded with difficulties in the administration of his duties as Lord High Treasurer. The king had been taught to consider the treasure left by Elizabeth, and the further resources of the kingdom, as an inexhaustible mine. Lately arrived from a country where the use of money was hardly known, he was really ignorant of its value, and became immeasurably profuse, as exemplified by the following anecdote. Carr, afterwards created Earl of Somerset, his first favourite in England, having obtained from the king a peremptory warrant to the treasurer for twenty thousand

pounds, that minister, foreseeing the inability of the Exchequer to answer demands so enormous, contrived to place the sum ordered on the floor of an apartment through which the king would pass. James, surprised at the sight of such a quantity of gold, inquired of the treasurer whose money it was. Cecil answered, "Your Majesty's, before you gave it away." Whereupon the king fell into a violent passion, complaining bitterly that he had been abused, and throwing himself on the heap, hastily snatched up two or three hundred pounds, and swore that Somerset should have no more. The treasurer, however, prudently judging it necessary for him to steer an even course between the king and the favourite, interceded in favour of the latter; and with some difficulty obtained for him half the original sum.

[32] Gilbert Primrosse, who was appointed to the office of his Majesty's Chief Chirurgion and also to the office of Serjeant of the Surgeons, with fees, for the former office, of £40 yearly, and for the latter, of 40 marks per annum (as formerly granted to William Gooderowse, his predecessor in those posts), by Privy Seal, dated June, 1603. In September, 1606, he had a free gift of 100 marks in regard of his service and daily attendance upon James I., during his Majesty's sporting journeys. Nichols' says that "in 1617 Dr. Gilbert Primrose had a yearly salary of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* as Serjeant Surgeon to the King, £40 as Ordinary Surgeon to the King, and £33 6*s.* 8*d.* as Surgeon to Charles, Prince of Wales." He was ancestor of the Earls of Rosebery.

[33] The Hon. Sir Robert Carey, fourth son of Henry, 1st Lord Hunsdon, whose memoirs, written by himself, were published by John, Earl of Cork and Orrery, in 1759, was born *circa* 1560. At the age of seventeen he accompanied Sir Thomas Leighton in his embassies to the States-General and to Don John of Austria; and he soon afterwards went with Secretary Walsingham into Scotland, where he appears to have entered into an arrangement with James VI. for the purpose of giving the king the earliest possible news of the

death of Queen Elizabeth. Returning to England, he joined the fleet in 1588, and assisted in repelling the Spanish Armada. The next year he won a wager of £2000 "by going on foot in twelve days to Berwick." "After this," goes on the memoir, "I married a gentlewoman, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, more for her worth than her wealth; for I had in all the world but £100 a year out of the Exchequer, as a pension, and that was but during pleasure; and I was near £1000 in debt. Besides, the queen was mightily displeased with me for marrying, and most of my best friends, only my father, was no ways offended at it, which gave me great content." The tide of fortune, which he took in the spring, was the opportunity afforded him by the familiar intercourse with which his kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth, condescended to treat him, of being the first to announce her Majesty's decease to her successor. Having been assured by his sister, Lady Scroope, that the Virgin Queen was no more, he took horse between nine and ten o'clock on the morning of March 23, and *arrived at Doncaster the same night!* On the 26th he reached Holyrood Palace about the time "the king was newly gone to bed." This journey has been deemed a marvellous display of horsemanship, and when we consider the state of the roads at this period, and that the rider sustained a great fall on the way, added to a kick from the horse on his head, by which he lost much blood, "and made him so weak that towards the end of the journey he was forced to go at a soft pace," the equestrian feat is all the more notable. The Scotch king received him, of course, most graciously, and observed, "I know you have lost a near kinswoman, and a mistress, but here, take my hand, I will be a good master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward." But beyond making him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and subsequently Chamberlain to Prince Henry, full nineteen years elapsed before he attained the peerage; and in his memoirs he observes, "I only relied on God and the king. The one never left me; the other, shortly after his coming to London, deceived my expectations, and adhered to those Scotch vultures who sought my ruin." On February 5,

1626, Carey was, by letters patent, elevated to the peerage as Baron Carey, of Leppington, county York, and Earl of Monmouth. By Elizabeth, his wife before mentioned, he had four sons and one daughter. He died in 1639.

[34] Sir Alan Percy, sixth son of Henry Percy, the 8th Earl of Northumberland, and Katherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of John Nevill, Lord Latimer. Sir Alan was made a Knight of the Bath with Prince Charles, and ten others, in January 1604-5. He married, in May, 1608, Mary, daughter and heir of Sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, Devonshire, but died *s. p.* in 1613. His widow married 2ndly, the Hon. Thomas Darcy; 3rdly, Sir Charles Howard; and 4thly, General Sir Richard Granville.

[35] Sir Dudley Carleton, Knight, son of Anthony Carleton, of Baldwin Brightwell, county Oxford, born March 10, 1573, having been employed, for a series of years, as Ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and Holland, was elevated to the peerage, May 21, 1626, as Baron Carleton, of Imbercourt, county Surrey, and in two years afterwards created Viscount Dorchester, in which year he was constituted one of the principal Secretaries of State to Charles I. Though twice married he left no surviving issue, and his honours, in default, became extinct, but his estates devolved on his nephew, Sir John Carleton, of Brightwell. Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester, had the reputation of being an able diplomatist and a polished statesman. He was master of different languages, and a good ancient and modern historian. He composed some pieces, which are noted by Walpole, and was esteemed a graceful and eloquent speaker. The familiar letters which so frequently passed between him and his friends contain occasional allusions to passing events in connection with the Turf during the period he flourished. He died February 15, 1631.

It seems the king did not pay another visit to Newmarket until November, 1607. Writing from

Charing Cross, November 24, J. Woode informs the Earl of Shaftesbury that "His Ma^te^ about viii. dayes since went to Newmarket, and yt is thought will follow his disports there till yt be nere Christmas ere he retourneth," * from which we may assume that the king and his suite left London for Newmarket on the 16th of this month. However, the earliest mention of the presence of the sovereign at Newmarket occurs in a letter from the Bishop of Chichester,[36] the king's almoner, to the Court of Wards and Liveries, to allow the Countess Dowager of Pembroke, a portion of some goods of a servant of hers, who had committed suicide, to the amount that he had stolen from her ladyship.† This communication is dated Newmarket, November 23, 1607, when this right reverend gentleman was in attendance upon the king.

November. 1607.

Sir George Chaworth,[37] in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, gives the following account of passing events at Newmarket during this sojourn of the king and court there :—

"The King is endifferently well pleased with his hunting ; and, which is to me as great newes as ease, ys not so earnest, without all intermission or respect of weather, be yt hott or could, dry or moyst, to goe his hunting & haulking as he was ; for, though he be as ernest, being at yt, as he was, yet ys he more apt to take hould of a lett, and a reasonabl wynd will blowe him to and keepe him at mawe all daye. I seldome

* Lodge, Illustrations, vol. iii., p. 333.
† Docquet Book, *sub dato*, MS., P.R.O.

or never, except uppon an extraordinarye cause, have knowne a greater Court of gentlemen then nowe is; but all of them cannot appease & satisfye the King why a fayre whyte jerfaulkon of his lately flewe awaye, & cannot be heard of againe. But the Court will lessen for a season within these two dayes, for my Lo. Haddington,[38] & all his favorytes, followers, and paraketts goe shortly to Huntingdon, to a match of hunting that he there hath against my Lo. of Shefeeld's[39] horse: And well maye he afford to lose such a match; yea better then so poore a man as I to be at cost to trayne & dyet my horse to win one; by reason that (as I conseve yt) his losing is wining; for he had a good and a gratiouse makar * in this terrestrial globe; for he that made him saved and delivered him out of the merchant's books; yea, yf I heard truth, he being 10,000li deepe lately: But good Lord, yt was well bestowed of him, & the King could doe no lesse for him, he being to match so well as to my Lo. of Sussex, doughter, which makes a Mayde of Honor weare willowe, and keepe her Christmas in the cuntrye.

"What is sayde of the famouse howse my Lo. Dunbar ys building at Barwick I cannot heare subscribe; but surely (*admirando cano*) yt ys, as they saye, the greatest squadron [i.e. quadranglar building] by much in England; and of that exceeding heyght, & yet magnificent turrents above thay heyght, a goodly front, & a brave p'spect open to the meanest & most distant roome, & that uniforme p'portion everye waye, gene-

* The king's free-gifts alone to Lord Haddington amounted to £31,300!

rally, as would stodye a good architector to describe: Only, therefore, I will saye whas in p'ticular I heard (to use their owne phrase) one of them creak; that Worsopp gallerye was but a garrat in respect of the gallerye that would there be.

"Nowe for my owne p'ticular, because yt pleaseth yor Lo^p to troble yor selfe with a care & well-wishing of me. Howe my L. of Rutland doth com'and, *deruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis*, at Ansley,* as he is Liefetenant of the forrest, so lykewise playing the Lord over those poore forresters, my tenants, with which justly he hath no culler to clayme to have to doe, I shold too much troble yor Lo^p with yf I shold wryte. This only in p'ticular: His Lo^p hath taken occasion to bye wood of myne, that ys truly & playnly myne as that little monye I have in my purse, of another bodye; so that I knowe not what I shuld doe, for I cannot followe both the Court, my place, & the com'on Pleas; & yet a dogg cannot endure to be troden on, much less a man, & more less I; and I thinke my impatience the more, by so much as I want meanes, advyse, & p'tection, of crying quittance, or, at least, of defending myselfe, my greatest, best, & only (and that suffitient, yf yt please y^r Lo^p still to continue that goodness) supportar & comphort in these afflictions being yor good Lo^p's great favor, wch I beseech may ever buyld on as ever my labour shalbe to deserve.

"Frõ Newmarket this 29th of Novb. 1607." †

* Sir George Chaworth's seat in Nottinghamshire, where the Earl of Rutland, as Chief Justice of the Forest of Sherwood, was playing havoc.

† Lodge's "Illustrations," vol. iii., pp. 336–7.

It is very probable that during those early visits of the king to Newmarket the court was held at the inn known by the sign of The Griffin, which subsequently became by purchase the property of James I., and probably the site of the royal palace of aftertimes. It is traditionally alleged that the palace arose from a house in the town given, or sold, to the king by Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury. At any rate the earliest reliable notice of the palace, court-house, chief messuage, or house as it has been variously designated, is in the accounts of the Public Works and Buildings for the year 1609.*

[36] Lancelot Andrews, D.D., was elected Bishop of Chichester, October 16, 1605. In 1609 he was translated to the See of Ely, and installed as its bishop, September 22 of that year. He is said to have laid out £2000 in repairs of Ely House, Holborn, London, the palace at Ely, Downham Manor, and Wisbeach Castle. In 1619 he was translated to the Bishopric of Winchester, and died at his palace in Southwark, September 25, 1626. He was at the head of that school of divines in the English Church which maintained Catholic doctrines, of which Laud was the most conspicuous defender.

[37] Sir George Chaworth, Knight, of Annesley and Wiverton, county Nottingham—only son of John Chaworth, Esq., of Cophill Bulter (a descendant of the old feudal Lords Chaworth), and Jane, daughter of David Vincent, Esq., of Stoke D'Abernon, county Surrey, and Bernade, county Northampton—was knighted by James I., at Greenwich, May 29, 1605, and created a peer of Ireland as Baron Chaworth, of Trim, county Meath, and Viscount Chaworth, of Armagh, March 4, 1627–8. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Kayveston,

* See *post.* Richard Hamerton was appointed keeper of "the king's house at Newmarket," April 20, 1608.—Docque Book, *sub dato*, MSS., P. R. O.

Esq., of Myreston, county Derby, by whom he had issue, Gilbert, who died *s. p.* in 1627; John, his successor; and three daughters. "I do not find this gentleman," says Lodge, "who seems to have wanted neither understanding, education, nor politeness, in any political service, except an embassy of condolence to the Archduchess Clara Eugenia, on the death of her husband, the Archduke Albert." From the tenor of his letters it would seem that he was a barrister, and many barristers have been partial to Newmarket and its exhilarating surroundings. Lord Chaworth died at Bath, July 3, 1639, and was buried at Langar, Notts.

[38] Sir John Ramsay (brother of George, 1st Lord Ramsay, of Dalhousie) was one of the pages of honour of King James VI., and had the good fortune to be one of the chief agents in the preservation of that sovereign from the attempt of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, at Perth, in August, 1600. The king had been induced by Alexander Ruthven to accompany him to the Earl of Gowrie's house at Perth, and soon after his arrival had been murderously attacked by Ruthven. At the moment young Ramsay, the page, happened to be hurrying to the stable for his horse, and heard the king crying from the window of Gowrie's house, "Treason! treason!" The royal attendants, who had rushed up the principal staircase to his assistance, found the door locked, but Ramsay fortunately got into the room by a back stairs, and perceiving Alexander Ruthven struggling with the king, drew his dagger, plunged it twice into Alexander's body, and then threw him downstairs, where he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Hugh Harris, the king's physician, who despatched him, and went up to the king. Just then the Earl of Gowrie rushed into the apartment, with a sword in each hand, followed by six of his attendants, completely armed, but was met by Ramsay, Erskine, and Harris, and after a mortal struggle was slain. For these acceptable services, Ramsay was rewarded with knighthood, had the barony of Eastbarns, county Haddington, conferred on him, and had a charter of the same, November 15, 1600. He was also created

Viscount of Haddington, and Lord Ramsay, of Barns, June 11, 1606, and augmentation to his arms, etc. Upon the accession of King James to the throne of England, his lordship accompanied his royal master to London, and, after participating to repletion in the royal bounty, was, some years afterwards, January 22, 1621, made a peer of the king's new dominions by the title of Earl of Holderness, with this special addition to the honour, that annually, on the 5th of August (the thanksgiving day for the king's deliverance from the Earl of Gowrie and his brother), he and his heirs male should bear the sword of state before the king, in the solemnization of that day's service. He died without leaving issue in February, 1625, when his titles became extinct.

[39] Edmund Sheffield, 3rd Baron Sheffield—eldest son of John, 2nd Baron Sheffield and Douglas, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham—succeeded his father in 1569. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he distinguished himself by many military services, particularly in the celebrated defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588; and was about this date made Governor of Brill and a Knight of the Garter. He was appointed President of the North, September 19, 1602, and was subsequently confirmed in that office by James I. By Charles I. he was created Earl of Mulgrave by patent, dated February, 1626. He married, 1st, Ursula, daughter of Sir Robert Tirwhit, of Ketilby, county Lincoln, by whom he had no less than fifteen children; and 2ndly, Mariana, daughter of Sir William Urwyn, Knight, by whom he had three sons and a daughter; and notwithstanding his numerous issue, his titles and honours shortly afterwards expired for want of heirs. Edmund, 3rd Lord Sheffield, and 1st Earl of Mulgrave, died in 1646, aged eighty years. This nobleman lost all his sons by accidents, with the exception of Charles, the eldest, who died in childhood. John, Edward, and Philip were drowned in their passage over the Humber at Whitgift Ferry, in December, 1614; William was drowned in France; and George killed when exercising a horse in his father's riding-house.

Under date February 11, 1608, a warrant was granted to R. Hamerton for £500, for the remainder of his lease of the Griffin at Newmarket; and on the day following he received another warrant for £60, "for the king's charges at Newmarket."* Then comes the following:— 1608.

JAMES by the grace of God King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defend^r of the faith etc. To the Trer' and Undertrer' of o^r Exchequer and to either of them for the time being greeting. Where[as] wee did of late purchase the lease of the Griffin in Newmarkett in the Countie of Cambridge of one Richard Hamerton beeing the Inheritance of one Leonard Beale of Orsett in the Countie of Essex to whom there is a yeerely Rent of Tenne pounds reserved paiable half yeerelie at the Feaste of the Annunc̃acon of the blessed virgin Mary and St Michael the Archangell by even porc̃ons answerable by us. And forasmuch as we have caused the said Leonard Beale to be treated with for the purchase of the Fee simple we will and comaund yo^u of such o^r treasure as now is or hereafter shall bee in the Receipt of o^r Exchequer not onlie to see the said rent of Tenne poundes to be paid to the said Leonard Beale his Heirs & Assignes as the same or anie parte thereof shall grow due vnto him or them but also if it shall happen that the Bargaine shall proceede for the purchase of the Fee simple thereof to us our heires and Successors that you cause payment to be made to the said Leonard Beale his heires and Assignes of such sūme of money as shall be agreed on for the purchase of the Fee Simple, so as the same does not exceede the sum of Foure hundred poundes. And theis o^rdres shall be you^r sufficient Warrant & discharge in that behalf. Given vnder our privy Seale at o^r pallace of Westm^r this Eight and Twentith daie of July in the fifth yeare of our Raigne of

Leonard Beale rent ad x £i ℔ annū for ye Griffin in Newmarket.

* Docquet Book, *sub anno*.

England France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the Two & Fortith.*

Half-yearly payments of the rent for the Griffin continued to be paid until the fee simple was purchased in 1610:—

"Leonard Beale for a year's rent for the Griffin in Newmarket.—By Order vltimo Octobris 1608: To Leonard Beale of Ovsett in the Countie of Essex the summe of tenne pounds being a yearly Rent reserved vnto him out of a Lease of the Griffen in Newmarket in the County of Cambridge by Richard Hammerton and purchased by his Matie paieable halfyearly by even pro'cons vntill such time as the said Leonard Beales shalbe treated wth for the purchase therof in Fee simple being his owne inheritance, and due for one whole yeare ended at the Feast of St. Michael th'archangill last past 1608: ℔ bve. dat xxviij° Julij 1608.~x^li^." — Pells, Order Book, 1608–9. Vol. viii., p. 28 *d.* This is repeated *sub dato* Nov. 24, 1609. *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 41 *d.* MS. P.R.O.

The next visit of royalty took place in the spring of 1608. Sir Thomas Lake,[40] the Latin secretary, was in attendance on the king, and it seems he had to conduct the correspondence between his Majesty and Salisbury. Thus, on March 7th, he enclosed a letter to the minister for Lord Knyvet about taking deer out of St. James's Park,† and transacted divers and sundry affairs of state in which we are not interested.

1608. March.

In the autumn the king again arrived at Newmarket on a prolonged visit.‡ On October 14, Sir

* Warrant Book, vol. ii., fo. 35 *d.*

† State Papers, Dom., vol. xxxi., No. 71.

‡ On Sunday, October 12, the king left London for Newmarket,

Thomas Lake, in a letter to Salisbury, announced that the news from Venice was pleasing to his Majesty, who spent most of his time in writing. A few days after the king told Sir Thomas he had kept his word with his Council, by being parsimonious, and not troubling them with directions, "and they had performed their part by leaving him quietly to his sports." During the month of November he remained at Newmarket, enjoying the chase, and safe from the plague, which at that time was raging in London, where Salisbury and the Council managed to conduct the affairs of State independent of the king's profound wisdom.* October.

[40] SIR THOMAS LAKE, son of Almeric Lake, or Du Lake, of Southampton, was knighted May 20, 1603. He was created a Privy Councillor in 1614, and two years afterwards was sworn in one of the principal Secretaries of State.

Bishop Goodman thus describes Secretary Lake's rise at court: "It belonged to the secretary's office to present to the king all the bills that are to be signed; the secretary sends them to the signet office, or at least receives them from thence, giving directions what bills should be drawn. Now the secretary (Secil), in regard of his greatness, being wholly employed in state affairs, and being master of the wards, could not attend the king in his hunting journeys; therefore it was necessary that some other should present the king with the bills; and this falling out when Lake was on duty, who applying himself wholly to the Scotchmen, and taking no fees from them, they gave him that commendation, that

and so little was the Sabbath regarded by his Majesty, that, before commencing his journey, he not only transacted public business, but had a very angry *rencontre* with the judges.—See Nichols' "Progress," vol. ii. p. 210.

* *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvii.

the king would have none other but Lake; and here he grew to be full of employment, and even noblemen did use his help as well as others."—Memoirs, vol. i., p. 175.

1609. February. Although Mr. Chamberlain places on record that, for the nonce, the king had "fallen out with Newmarket and Thetford," it seems his Majesty paid a brief visit to the former locality towards the end of February, 1608–9. Sir George Chaworth, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury (dated Newmarket, February 28), refers to the favour which Sir Robert Carr was attaining at the court, and the cold shoulder given to Edmund Lacells,[41] who, although an accomplished courtier, had the misfortune to be an English gentleman, in distress and friendless, pressing for preferment, pleading past service done in his country's cause, but pleading in vain.*

[41] This gentleman was a younger son of an ancient family formerly seated at Gateford, near Worksop, Nottinghamshire, which descended from a cadet of the Lacelles of Escrick, and Kirby Knowle, Yorkshire. His intimacy with the Earl of Shrewsbury, which seems to have been formed at an early time of life, probably originated in the proximity of their fathers' country seats. James I., to whom he had been of some service in London towards the end of the late reign, appointed him a Groom of the Privy Chamber, and, as appears by papers in the Talbot collection, he wasted the whole of his small fortune at court without gaining any further preferment. In the course of the following year he was dismissed upon some trifling offence, and, after having made several vain efforts to be re-admitted, was obliged to fly from his creditors. He informs the earl, by a letter from Utrecht, dated May 25, 1609, that he had been allowed to

* Lodge, vol. iii., p. 246; Nichols' "Progress," vol. ii., p. 214.

kiss the king's hand before his departure, but could obtain no relief from him; and implores his lordship to assist his wife, whom he left in England, with three children, in so wretched a situation that he was forced to divide with her the small sum of twelve pounds which the Earl of Pembroke had given him to purchase necessaries for his voyage. At his first going abroad he enlisted under Sir Edward Cecil, at Utrecht, with a stipend of nine shillings per week; and after the peace, was recommended by Anne of Denmark to the Duke of Brunswick, in whose service he probably continued for the remainder of his life. His lineal descendants were hereafter Earls of Harewood.

The king again arrived, on the 1st of October, at Newmarket, where he remained, on and off, until the end of December. On his arrival, great preparations were made for the sports peculiar to the locality; but owing to the severe frost and snow which prevailed, the fun had to be relinquished until a change in the weather took place. The king spent the interval in writing poetry, and issuing orders on public transactions. This is a specimen of the former:— October.

> The earth ore-covered with a sheet of snow,
> Refuses food to fowl, or bird, or beast:
> The chilling cold lets * every thing to grow,
> And surfeits cattle with a starving feast.
> Curs't be that love and mought † continue short
> Which kills all creatures and doth spoil our sport.

In November, a change in the weather permitted some "hunting matches" to take place; and during December several similar events are mentioned in which the king and the princes participated. On the

* Hinders. † *I.e.* may it.

5th, Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Salisbury: "This morning his Majesty staid within, being sermon day, and partly from hard riding yesterday, for they all came very weary last night, and laid long a-bed to-day. The prince was also distempered, nevertheless, as I hear, they hawk at the field in the afternoon, and make trial of the Spanish hawks. The matches went well enough yesterday with the king, and he himself boasts they are with him, but the other side will not yield. As I was writing this letter I hear his Majesty is gone afoot up the hills to see if it is possible that his dogs may hunt for the frost. He will make another day of it for his matches." On the 6th, Sir Alexander Hay,[42] in a letter to Salisbury, tells him that the frost was too hard for hunting, "and no prospect of sport for seven nights." However, on the 13th, Sir Thomas Lake announced that "the match is ended yesterday, and yielded to my Lo. Dunbar,[43] and you will shortly hear of a bill of charges about it." *

[42] Sir Alexander Hay, knighted in June, 1608, was Secretary for Scottish affairs, and participated largely in the king's "free-gifts."

[43] Sir George Hume, knight, third son of Alexander Hume, of Manderston, and great-grandson of Sir David Hume, of Wedderburn, having accompanied James I. into England, was elevated to the English peerage, July 7, 1604, as Baron Hume, of Berwick. He had previously succeeded Lord Elphinston, in the treasurership of Scotland, and was created a peer of that kingdom, July 3, 1605, in the dignity of Earl

* Lake to Salisbury, Newmarket Dec. 5. State Papers, Dom., vol. I., No. 14—52.

OF DUNBAR. His lordship, who was in great favour with his royal master, was a Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Keeper of the Privy Purse, and Master of the Wardrobe. He is characterized by a contemporary writer "as a person of deep wit, few words; and in his Majesty's service, no less faithful than fortunate. The most difficult affairs he compassed without any noise, never returning when he was employed, without the work performed that he was sent to do." He married Catherine, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon, of Gight, and had two daughters, his co-heirs, viz. Anne, married to Sir James Hume, of Coldingknows, and Elizabeth, married to Theophilus Howard, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, K.G. Lord Dunbar died at Whitehall, January 29, 1611, when all his honours became extinct.

Many matters relating to current affairs engaged the king's attention during this royal sojourn at Newmarket; but they call for no comment at our hands. On the last day of November, for instance, a proclamation was issued, and posted on the palace gates, inhibiting the importation of pepper from foreign parts by any other persons than those of the British East India Company, and limiting the price at which they were to sell it to *2s. 6d.* per lb. Bishop Hacket speaks of his hospitable reception by James I. at Newmarket, and in his "Life of Lord Keeper Willams" (pt. i., p. 227) presents us with the following picture of the sporting and theologian monarch's domestic life at the royal village. Answering certain objections, he writes: "It is said, but mistaken, that Government was neglected at those hunting houses; and, by the way, why are they called obscure places, *Royston** and *Newmarket?* petty if

c. 1609.

* "K. *Richard* I. granted Royston a Fair and a Market, which last is

compared with London, but they are market-towns and great thorowfares; where the court was so frequently, both for business and recreations, that many of the followers could not find a lodging in that town, nor scarce in the villages round about it. I held acquaintance with some that attended the principal secretaries there, who protest they were held to it closer, and sat up later in those retirements to make dispatches than at London. The king went not out with his hounds above three days in the week, and hunting was soon over. Much of the time his Majesty spent in State contrivances, and at his book. I have stood by his table often, when I was about the age of two and twenty years and from henceforward, and have heard learned pieces read before him at his dinners which I thought strange; but a chaplain of James Montague, Bishop of Winton, told me that the bishop had read over unto him the four tomes of Cardinal Bellarmine's Controversies at those respites, when his Majesty took fresh air, and weighed the objections and answers of that subtle author, and sent often to the libraries of Cambridge for books to examine his quotations."

This incident appears to have occurred about the

much thronged with Buyers, Sellers, and their Horses, from *London* and all Parts upon the Account of the Barley and Malt Trade. The Market is kept on *Wednesday*, and the Fairs on *June* 28, and *July* 25, yearly. It is 33 Miles from *London*, and lies East of that City. The *Cambridge* Scholars, at their first coming, take much Notice of a sort of Crows called *Royston* Crows, having some White about their Breast and Wings, which is not usual in other Countries; and the *Oxonians* of a Proverb, *viz. A* Royston *Horse, and* a Cambridge *Master of Arts, are two Creatures that will turn Head for no man.*"—Magna Britannia, ed. Savoy, 1720, vol. i., p. 238.

end of the year 1609, when the king was at Newmarket. Sir Thomas Lake, writing from Newmarket, December 9, 1609, to the Earl of Salisbury, sends warrants and bills for the minister's signature; "and also certain passages extracted out of Bellarmine's late book, on which the king must have the council's opinion, before he can be merry with them at Christmas." *

At this period the roads *en route* from London to Newmarket were in a bad state, and greatly impeded the wayfarer's progress. Essex miles were proverbial for their length—not that they were, in reality, any longer than the mile in any other part of the kingdom; they obtained the epithet simply because of the abominable state of the track. In those pre-macadam days the high roads were in such a state that we have no conception of the difficulties of progression, when carriages were almost unknown, and most journeys were accomplished in the pigskin. But when James I. decided upon erecting a villa venatica at Newmarket, an attempt was made to mend the roads between that rising village and the metropolis. Thus in 1609, Thomas Norton, his majesty's "way maker" was paid £29 10*s.* for superintending and seeing to the repairs "of the higheways leadinge to and from the Citty of London to the Towns of Royston and Newmarkett, for his Maties better passage in goeing and cominge to his recreations in those parts." † On July 3rd a

1609.

* State Papers, Dom., vol. l., No. 33.

† Pells, Order Book, *sub dato*, MS., P.R.O.

warrant dormant was issued to pay him 3*s.* 4*d.* per day, during pleasure, and also to repay £18 disbursed by him.*

In the autumn of 1632, at the instance of the surveyor of the highways to Charles I., when the king was about to make the sporting journey to Newmarket and Royston, the inhabitants of the county of Hertford were enjoined to repair the roads and to restrain the number of malt carts travelling thereon, and waggons to be confined to such as were drawn by five horses.†

The king was to leave London for Newmarket on April 25, but, probably owing to an outbreak of the plague at Thetford, this projected royal visit was postponed.‡

Several foreigners of distinction were entertained, from time to time, by James I. at Newmarket Palace.

In May, 1610, Louis Frederick, Prince of Wirtemberg, was there received by the king, at which date Newmarket was celebrated for hare-hunting, when the prince and his royal host enjoyed the sports together.§

The year following £80 were paid to two French-

* Warrant Book II., p. 102. *Ibid.* He also received £5 10*s.* 10*d.* for making certain bridges between Newmarket and Royston.—Docquet Book, March 26, 1608.

† S. P., Dom. Chas. I., vol. ccxxii., No. 63.

‡ Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 153.

§ This visit is minutely described by the Majordomo or Secretary to the Prince, Hans Jacob Wurmsser von Vendenheym; it has been translated from the French by Mr. W. B. Rye in his most interesting volume, "England as seen by Foreigners," London, 1865, pp. 54-66.

men who arrived, and sojourned at the palace, to teach the Prince of Wales dancing and fencing.*

In February, 1611, his Majesty arrived at Newmarket and stayed there for nearly a month, when polemical, political, petitioning, and similar topics are recorded, but never a word transpires relating to the Turf.† In the autumn the king and court made another visit, arriving on Sunday, November 11. Sir Roger Aston,‡ Master of the Wardrobe, appears to be the acting secretary between the king and Salisbury. He records that twelve falcons arrived there from Denmark for the king, and six for the minister, of which latter the king had taken two, and hopes he (Salisbury) will not be angry. The diplomatic and foreign affairs are followed in turn with the sports of the place, in which his Majesty was quite at home. On the 22nd the ambassador of the King of Sweden arrived, had an audience, and went hunting with the king. The state of the roads between the metropolis and Newmarket, as usual, called for, and doubtless merited, the execration bestowed upon that venerable highway by the travellers of the period, high and low.‡ On the 28th the king was still at Newmarket, "somewhat troubled with a humor in his

1611. February.

* Pells, Issue Book, *sub dato*, MS., P.R.O.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. lxi. The celebration of the mass at the Spanish Embassy and in the Tower of London—the inhabitants of Epping Forest to be exempt from purveyance—sixteen horses in ordinary for the Duke of York (afterwards Charles I.)—Sir R. Stewart's petition for two out of every hundred trees belonging to the king's manors, "his former grant of lops and tops not sufficing to pay his creditors"—Sir Thomas Bartlett committed to the Tower for begging, to the prejudice of the Scots, etc., etc.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lxvii.

great toe, that must not yet be called the gout." * The following day the court arrived at Royston, but shortly after returned to Newmarket.

November—December. On the 23rd of November the king issued a proclamation concerning the alteration of the prices of gold and fixing the different prices current, at the following value :—

		s.	d.
The piece of gold called the Unite	at	22	0
The piece of gold called the Double Crown		11	0
The piece of gold called the Britain Crown		5	6
The piece of gold called the Thistle Crown		4	4½
The piece of gold called the Half Crown		2	9
The coin of gold of Scotland, called the vj^{li}. piece		11	0

Not current in Scotland	The piece of gold of our own coin called the Rose Royal	33	0
	The piece of gold of our own coin called the Spur Royal	16	6
	The piece of gold of our own coin called the Angel	11	0

All other pieces of gold, other coin of any former kings of the realm, and at this time current, to bear the like increase in value with those above mentioned, viz.

		s.	d.		s.	d.
Every piece of gold formerly current.	For	30	0		33	0
	„	20	0		22	0
	„	15	0		16	6
	„	10	0		11	0
	„	5	0		5	6
	„	2	6		2	9

* Birch MSS., 4173.

The abatements or remedies, which the several pieces of gold may not exceed :

In every piece of gold current for	*s. d.*	The remedy and abatement shall not exceed	*grs.*
	30 0		4½
	20 0		3
	15 0		2½
	10 0		2
	5 0		1
	2 6		½

Superscription—"Given at Newmarket the 23 day of November, in the ninth year of our reign of Gt. Britain, France, and Ireland. Anno Dom. 1611."*

The Court remained at Newmarket until about the 7th of December. During the interval the Spanish Ambassador demanded redress for piracy committed by English merchants, and received a hint, as a soliatium for the grievance of his nation, that the King of Spain might propose to the Princess Elizabeth. Salisbury's attention was directed to abuses in the mint; and Sir Dudley Diggs invoked the bracing air of Newmarket that he might the better work out his ideas for the discovery of the North-West Passage—an expensive hobby with some enthusiasts then as now.† The Earl of Suffolk [45] had a house in the town at this date, from which some of the furniture was requisitioned for the comfort of the Spanish Ambassador during his sojourn on this occasion.

[44] Illegitimate son of Thomas Aston, Esq., of Aston. Sir

* Black Letter Proclamation Book (printed), p. 250, P.R.O.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. lxvii.

Roger was a gentleman of the Bedchamber and Master of the Wardrobe to James I. He married, first, Mary Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Lord Ochiltree, and had four daughters, his co-heirs; and, 2ndly, Cordelia, daughter of Sir John Stanhope, and sister to the first Earl of Chesterfield, but had no other issue.

[45] Lord Thomas Howard, eldest son of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, and his second wife Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Audley, of Walden, K.G., was a distinguished naval officer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His lordship was restored in blood (his father, the Duke, having been attainted and beheaded in 1572) by Act of Parliament in the 27th year of Elizabeth; and twelve years afterwards, October 24, 1597, was summoned to Parliament as Lord Howard of Walden. He was created EARL OF SUFFOLK, July 21, 1603, and installed a Knight of the Garter. To his lordship's vigilance the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot has been mainly attributed; he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1613, and constituted Lord High Treasurer of England in the following year, of which high office he was deprived in 1618. His lordship married, 1st, Mary, sister and co-heir to Thomas, Lord Dacre, of Gillesland, but had no issue. He married, 2ndly, Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Knevit, Knight, of Charlton, Wiltshire, and widow of the Hon. Richard Rich, eldest son of Lord Rich, by whom he had several children. He died May 28, 1626, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Theophilus, 2nd Earl of Suffolk.

Bishop Goodman mentions the following anecdote:—When the Spanish Ambassador was at Newmarket, he had, at one time, occasion to confer in Latin with the king, "and the ambassador speaking false Latin, and sometimes not able to express

himself, he told the king that he spoke Latin like a king, and that his majesty spake like a Master of Arts, and so he excused himself and his false Latin."

Secretary Conway, in a despatch from Newmarket, says: "I desired in your grace's name, my Lord Chamberlain's advice what from the king, what from your particular, might be done to honour the ambassador, and what with best lustre.* To this he said, the place must be Cambridge, *Newmarket being able to bear nothing of grace;* that on the king's part, the general entertainment would be as good as is possible; that the king gave them one meal at his own table; and that his majesty must be pleased to send to my Lord Suffolk to lend furniture of two lodgings for the ambassador, with drawing-rooms and a dining-room, and likewise to give order, as most proper to his authority, for all that can be added by the University." †

The king and court were again at Newmarket in the spring of the year 1612, when Sir Henry Vane[46] was knighted; but the royal sojourn on this occasion passed off without any eventful incidents. 1612.

* "Thomas Footes gentleman vsher daylie wayter to the Kynges Matie for the allowance of himselfe, one yeoman vsher, three yeoman hangers, two gromes of the Chamber, two groomes of the Wardrobe, and one groom porter, for makeinge readie at Newmarkett for the Prince Palatyne six dayes, and Counte Henricke six dayes, and at Royston for the Prince six dayes, and at Theobaldes six dayes, in all by the space of xxiiij^er^ dayes in the monthes of November and December 1612 xxiij^ti^ xij^s^."—Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household, series I., box G., bundle 4, m. 11 *d.*

† MS. Tanner, Oxon, lxxiii., 397.

[46] Sir Henry Vane was born in Kent in 1589. He was knighted by James I. at Newmarket, in March, 1612, and appointed cofferer to Prince Charles, on whose accession he was made a member of the Privy Council. He was sent on several special embassies—to the Queen of Bohemia, in May, 1625; to Holland, as Ambassador Extraordinary in February, 1628-9; returned to London in the following May, but was again despatched to the Hague, on October 18, 1629. He was recalled on November 2, 1630, and left Holland in March, 1631. His credentials as Ambassador to Sweden are dated September 22, 1631. On February 3, 1639-40, was granted "the office of Secretary of State to Sir Henry Vane, Knt., Tr^er of H. M. Household during H. M. plesur." Through being implicated by the indiscretion of his son, who stole some important state documents from his father's cabinet relating to the Earl of Strafford, he was removed from all his appointments, and died in 1654, aged sixty-five.

In January, 1613,* James I. was again located at Newmarket, when royal proclamations were issued against the use, manufacture, or importation of pistols, and commanding the surrender of all such; and against the exportation of corn and grain, on account of its high price and apprehended scarcity. After a brief sojourn the court returned to the metropolis, which was *en fête* consequent upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick, Palatine of the Rhine, titular King of Bohemia, which was duly solemnized on the 14th of February, with great magnificence. These festivities (including the princess's portion of £40,000) cost King

1613.
January.
March.
November.

* "For riding and attendinge his Matie from Whitehall to Theobalds Royston Newmarkett and Thetforde and back agayne by the space of xxxiiij^or dayes in the monthes of Februarie and Marche 1612[-13] lxvj^li vj^s."—Acc. Treasurer of the Chamber, series I., box G., bundle 4, m. 11 *d.*

James close upon £100,000. The high contracting parties were entertained by the Templars at a sumptuous mask, with which his Majesty was so pleased that he, in return, entertained the masquers, "but at the cost of the Prince [Henry ?] and his followers, who laid a wager for the charges of the feast, and lost it by running at the ring." *

In March, the king, the Prince of Wales, the royal bride and bridegroom, attended by the Lord Chancellor,[47] the principal ministers of State, with an enormous following, arrived at Newmarket, where they enjoyed the sports peculiar to the place to their hearts' content. Here the royal bride selected the hounds and hunters which she took with her to Bohemia, and when the Palgrave bore her away from Rochester, in the following month, those accessories of the chase constituted the cargo of a good-sized vessel. Soon after their departure, "the king escaped a great danger at Newmarket, by reason of the foundation of the house where he lay began to sink on one side, so that the doors and windows flew open, and they were fain to carry him out of his bed with all possible expedition; but the next day he removed to Thetford." †

Notwithstanding this *contretemps*, the king paid another visit to Newmarket in November, when he was, as usual, attended with the twenty-one preachers in ordinary "for the sporting journeys."

[47] THOMAS EGERTON, whose surname was assumed from a manor in Cheshire so called, possessed by his father's

* State Papers, Dom., vol. lxxii.

† Chamberlain to Carleton. "The Court of James I.," vol. i., p. 233.

ancestors when Domesday Book was compiled, was the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, in the same county, by a young woman named Alice Sparke. He was born in 1540, and having been brought up to the bar, attained the highest honours of his profession, and filled, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, successively the offices of Solicitor and Attorney General, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Upon the accession of James I., Egerton was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England, and elevated to the peerage July 21, 1603, as Baron of Ellesmere, in the county of Salop, and further advanced November 7, 1616, to the dignity of Viscount Brackley, which the wits of Westminster Hall, who objected to his interference with the judgments of the Common Law Courts, converted into Viscount Break-law. During the intervals of his laborious avocations his chief relaxation was in the sports of the field, and several noble clients gave him licence to "hunt and kill" in their parks and manors. James I., who appears to have regarded him with great affection, is said to have parted from him with tears of gratitude and respect, and to have signified his intention to raise him to an earldom. Though death prevented the Lord Chancellor from receiving this last mark of his sovereign's favour, little more than two months elapsed before his Majesty proved his sincerity by creating the heir Earl of Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, on May 27, 1617. This title was changed into a dukedom in 1720, but both have since become extinct. The earldom, however, was revived in 1840, in the grand-nephew of the last duke, about which time the great Bridgewater estates devolved, after much litigation, on the Earl of Brownlow.

To Thomas Childe, Marshall Farryer vpon two bookes signed by the Lorde Chamberleyne for allowance of Marshallrye done in the Hobbye stable, the Coursers stable, and Carrayadge stable from Christmas 1611 to Christmas 1612. Cj^{li} v^{s} x^{d}. *—Wardrobe Acc. Treas. of the Chamber. John

* These were annual charges slightly varying in amounts.

Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Series 1, box G., bundle 4, m. 15, *dorso.* MS., P. R. O.

To Thomas Lazenbye, Marshall Farryer for the huntynge horses vpon a booke signed by the Lord Chamberlayne, for Marshallrye and work done by him from the firste of October 1612 vntil the laste of Februarie followinge—Vj^{li} xv^{s} x^{d}.*

To Thomas Welles vpon the Lord Chamberleynes warraunte dated the vjth of July 1613 for money payde to xxj Preachers attending his Matie in his sporting iourneys at Newmarket in June 1613—xxj^{li}.†

To the same for moneys payed to preachers attending his Mat^{ies} hunting Journeys as appeareth by a bill of particulars under the hand of the Lord Bishopp of Bath and Welles and Dean of his Majtys Chappell—xxxv^{li} (£35). ‡

Mr. Chamberlain, writing to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton from London, February 10, 1614, tells him that the king "has gone to Newmarket, and left the Council to decide about a Parliament." § **1614.**

On the 19th, Sir Thomas Lake, Privy Councillor in attendance on the king, wrote "from the Court at Newmarket," by the king's command, to some minister in London, whose name has not transpired, the following account of his Majesty's forebodings as to the ensuing Parliament:—

"His Majesty is this morning gone to a house of Sir Nicholas Bacons to hawk, but before going forth, calling for me to receive direction to my Lord Chancellor, for passing the Patent for Glass, which his Lordship had stayed, he commanded me to signify to

* *Ibid.* † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*, m. 34.
§ State Papers, Dom., vol. lxxvi.

you that, now he hath given warrant for calling his Parliament, he thinketh fit to acquaint your Lordship, with his gnosticks (that was his phrase), that is, that he hath been enformed from some of his servants here, who have laboured for places, that they have received answer from the Gentlemen of the country of good quality, that they think all the shires are disposed to take care that none of his Majesty's servants be chosen. If this be true, and so prove in other places, his Majesty can foresee the success, and much better it were for him to put it off then [than] to see an assembly of men, who before hand discover their disposition, and are not willing to have his servants in their company; for that cannot be a good sign for him. Wherefore he recommendeth to your Lordship's special care to do your endeavour with other of my Lords of the Council, to whom (in his Majesty's name) your Lordships are recommended the same providence in places where you have credit or power, that the House be furnished of men of good disposition, and apt to have due consideration of him and his estate, or else his Majesty shall have little comfort in the Assembly." *

Fortunately this unconstitutional emanation of royalty—notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear by the king, the ministers, and the court party—had little effect upon the constituencies, and a majority of the new House of Commons was in favour, and supporters, of their rights and privileges. As we shall subsequently see, this bone of contention, between the

* MS. Lansdowne, 487.

king and his subjects, occasioned many unseemly wrangles at Newmarket in after times.

His Majesty was also at Newmarket in July,* when he entertained the King of Denmark with hunting, bear-baiting, etc.; and in November we read that "Mr. Secretary goes next week to the king at Newmarket, who, upon Saturday last, had a dangerous fall with his horse hunting, yet without any great hurt more than a bruise in his side and arm, by the weight of his horse that lay upon him;" and that "some unkind and rough words passed lately 'twixt the Earl of Montgomery and Lord Walden[48] about their hunting matches."† In November and December the king was again residing at Newmarket, when many of the subordinate officials had to lodge out of the precincts of the palace, which appears to have been crowded to excess.‡ The weather was "very foul," and beyond the creation of several knights, no further incidents worth mentioning occurred

* The king's visit at Newmarket, Theobalds, and Royston extended to March 5 (Bundle 4, m. 26 *d*). It seems his second sojourn extended into the month of August :—

"To the said James Maxwell for the allowance of him twoe groomes of the Chamber one groome of the wardrobe and one groome porter for ryding from the Courte at Whitehall with his Ma^tie^s guift in plate and a wardrobe traversed to Newm'ket to the Christning of Sr John Cottons Childe by the space of xxj dais mens Julij et August 1614 xvij^li x^s."—Acc. Treasurer of the Chamber, Series I., box G., bundle 4, m. 27.

† "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i.

‡ "To Hughe Maye one of the grooms of his Ma^tie^s privy Chamber vppon like warr^t: dated exto January 1614 for his lodginge out of the Courte at Newmarket from the xth of November 1614 vntill the xth of December followinge iiij^li More to him and his fellowes for their lodginge out of the Courte at Newmarket from the xvj^th of January 1614[-15] vntill the viij of Feby followinge lx^s."—Accs. Treasurer of the Chamber, bundle 4, m. 47 *a*.

during the closing scenes of this royal visit. The king soon after returned to London and kept the Christmas festivities at Whitehall.*

[48] Theophilus Howard, eldest son of Lord Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk, who had been summoned to the House of Lords in his father's lifetime, as the 2nd Lord Howard-de-Walden. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of George, Earl of Dunbar. His lordship was installed a Knight of the Garter, appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, Captain of the band of Gentlemen-pensioners, and sworn of the Privy Council. He died June 3, 1640, and was succeeded by his eldest son, James, 3rd Earl of Suffolk, K.B.

* Nichols' "Progress," vol. iii., p. 25.

BOOK IV.

ROYAL SOJOURNS AT NEWMARKET. JAMES I. 1615–1625. (*Continued.*)

1615. Royal visit in the spring—Arrival of the Marquis of Brandenburg—Cost of his entertainment at the palace—Passing events—Entering a new Secretary of State—Incidents in his journey down and up—Severity of the weather—Field sport abandoned—Routine affairs of State—Dispensation of court favours at Newmarket—More royal visits in November and December—The Overbury poisoning case—Home Rule—Arrival of the Venetian ambassador—And the Chancellor of Scotland—Dearth of lodgings in this "poor villiage"—The King's "great horses" at Newmarket—St. Anthony the rider—Villiers rising in the royal favour—Royal commands for the preservation of the game at Newmarket—*Sir John Throckmorton—The Earl of Ormond—Sir William Woodhouse—Sir Robert Drury—Sir Thomas Jermyn—Sir Nicholas Bacon*—1616. Arrival of the King and court—Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—The North-Sea fishing fleet refused a convoy—Action of the Council thereon—Is ineffectual—The voyage abandoned in consequence—The King orders the observance of Lent to be enforced—No fish to be had—The King feasted by Lord Gerard—Somerset sent to the Tower—Rise of Buckingham—Dignities showered on him by the King—New Knights of the Garter—Newmarket peers—Disgrace and dismissal of Chief Justice Coke—Steps taken by him to regain the King's favour—He proceeds to Newmarket—Propitiates Buckingham—Bribery and corruption—Obtains access to the palace—His interview with the King—Finess—Sojourn of Prince Charles—H.R.H. created Prince of Wales—Formation of his hunting establishment—Annual cost of his packs—Projected royal progress to Scotland—The details arranged at Newmarket—The King's own letter thereon—Incidental expenses attending the royal sojourns—Another deluge at Newmarket—*The Earl of Somerset*—

The Earl of Rutland—Lord Brabazon—Lord Moore—Sir Ralph Winwood—Sir Lionel Cranfield—Lord Wotton—Lord Knollys—Chief Justice Coke—1617. Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—Arrival of H.E. Baron Wimberg—His expenses at Newmarket defrayed by the King—Arrival of the Swedish ambassador—Description of his journey down—His unexpected arrival at Newmarket interrupts the royal diports—H.E. proceeds in state from his inn to the palace—His reception by the King—Tall talk—The language of diplomacy—The audience—Another state banquet at the palace—Court etiquette—"The wisdom of Solomon"—Scene after the banquet—H.E. calls upon the Prince of Wales—Another audience—The ambassador is dubbed a knight of Newmarket—His departure and journey up—Bolton's project to institute a Royal Academy in England—He proceeds to Newmarket and submits the scheme to Buckingham—The King and the favourite favour the proposal—But it falls through—Ulterior proceedings—And the sequel—The English expeditionary forces in Holland—Curious dispute concerning commissions—The King stands on his dignity—"The wisdom of Solomon" again—The Prince of Wales in amateur theatricals—More Newmarket knights—Incidental expenses at the palace—Prosecution of poachers—Payments to the King's farriers—1618. Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—Preliminary arrangements for the tilt—Rural life outside the palace—Novel way of celebrating the Prince of Wales's birthday—The King and courtiers dine at Farmer Gamige's—Each guest provides his own grub—The most extraordinary *menu* on record—The delicacies of the season—The champion of the feast—More knights of Newmarket—More of the "wisdom of Solomon"—The comet of 1618—The courtiers' importunities—More Newmarket peers—Arrival of the commissioners of Holland—And the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy—Rivalry between the East India and other companies of merchant adventurers—Back-stairs influence at the palace—More *menus* of the period—Incidental expenses of the court—*The Marquis of Hamilton—The Earl of Southampton—Sir Philip Mainwaring—Sir George Goring—Sir Edward Yardley—Sir Thomas Stukeley—Sir Albertus Morton—Lord Digby*—1619. Royal sojourns in the spring—Arrival of the King and court in January—Harsh administration of the forest laws—The King's deer—Hawking in the vicinity of Newmarket—Royal visit to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Bart., at Culford—The first baronet created—The new dignity invented as a means to raise the wind—Creation of baronets estimated to produce £66,666 a year—Departure of the King and court for London—Another royal visit in February and March—The Prince of Wales remains in London to train for tilting—H.R.H. first enters the lists—Runs twelve courses at the ring and bears away the bell—The principal tilters of the period—The Spring Meeting—The races take place notwithstanding the death of the Queen—Creation of Newmarket peers

during the meeting—A miracle on the heath and its consequences—Partridges and hares turned down at Newmarket—Royal sojourn in December—Heavy snow stops hunting and hawking—Arrival of H.E. Baron Denow—His expenses at Newmarket—Ceremonies attending his audience at the palace—Incidental disbursements relating to these royal visits at Newmarket—*Lord Thomas Gerard—Sir James Hay—Sir Richard Preston—The Hon. Sir Thomas Somerset—Sir Thomas Howard—Sir Edward Sackville—Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick—Sir Henry Rich—Sir William Cavendish—The Earl of Buccleuch—The Earl of Melrose—The Earl of Kellie—Viscount Purbeck—Viscount Doncaster*—1620. Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—Merry times at the palace—Tilting and theatricals—Court life during the visit—Shroving—The King and Prince entertained at Saxham by Sir John Crofts—Quarrels among the Scotch courtiers—A duel and the consequences—Visit of the ambassador of the Palatine—More Newmarket proclamations—Chief Justice Montagu appointed Lord High Treasurer—Gives Buckingham a bribe of £20,000 for the office—More Newmarket peers—Expenses at the palace incidental to these royal visits—*The Earl of Manchester—Viscount Falkland—Viscount Dunbar*—1621. Royal sojourn in November and December—Causes much animadversion—The popular feeling in London—Proceedings in the House of Commons—Pass a petition and remonstrance—Committee of the House appointed to convey the vote to the King—They arrive at Newmarket—The King in the toils—He receives the committee in the palace—The conference—The King writes to the Speaker—Threats to commit members—The royal prerogative—The King returns to London—Is amazed at the minutes of the House—Sends for the Journals—Destroys the protestation in the presence of the Council—And dissolves the Parliament—The King retires to Theobald's—Thrown from horseback into the New River—And narrowly escapes drowning—1622. Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—Passing events—More shroving at Saxham—More Newmarket peers—Theology—*Sir Richard Graham—Viscount Air—Lord Jedburgh*—Pricking the sheriffs—Orders for preserving the game—Poaching excessive—Ministerial tactics—Hawking—More Newmarket proclamations—Home Rule—Its effect in London—Causes inconvenience to many—The Home Rule policy produces contrary effects—And frustrates the objects for which it was designed—Inclement weather—The East India and Muscovy merchants proceed to Newmarket—And are robbed on the road—Depredations by highwaymen at Newmarket—Novel mode adopted by them to elude arrest—Racing intelligence—Betting—The Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Salisbury—The King's jockeys and their wages—The surveyors of the races—Their emoluments and liveries—Dispensation of patronage at Newmarket—The Duke of Buckingham, Sir Richard Graham, and Sir Edmund Verney—Payments to

the court officials incident to these royal visits—*Sir Edmund Verney*—*The Earl of Salisbury*—1623. Royal sojourns in the spring and autumn—The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Richard Graham leave Newmarket in disguise *en route* to Madrid—The royal pilgrimage of love a State secret—Passing events at the palace—The observance of Lent—The trained bands—The royal prerogative in the chase—How exercised—Sharp practice—Postal expenses between London and Newmarket—Naval affairs—Alarming rumours about the Spanish alliance—Great excitement throughout the country—The Council proceed to Newmarket—Interview with the King—Who lets the cat out of the bag—Troops sent to Newmarket—The panic subsides—State retinue equipped and despatched to the Prince—Royal present of jewels from the regalia for the bride-elect—Are valued at £600,000—Enumerated by the King in his letters to the Prince—Passing events at the palace—Royal commands to take up partridges and turn them down at Newmarket—Arrival of the Corps Diplomatique—The Cambridge comedians perform at the palace—Cost of their entertainment—Great concourse of visitors in the town—Audience of the envoy of the Arch-Duke—Received by the King *in camera*—Occupies the Prince's apartments during his visit—Royal sojourn in the autumn—Arrival of French falconers—Present of hawks from Louis XIII.—State of the game at Newmarket—Poaching excessive—Royal commands thereon—The supervisor of the game at Newmarket—Incidental expenses at the palace during the sojourn of the court—*Sir Edward Conway*—*Lord Brooke*—*Sir Edward Peyton*—*The Earl of Arundel*—1624. Royal sojourn in the spring—More about the Venatic envoy from France—His state entry by torchlight—Heavy expenses attending his visit—He outstays his welcome—Valuable jewels and other presents given to the embassy by the King—Return of the Prince of Wales—The King breaking up—Another Newmarket peer—Distribution of honours and emoluments—Dearth of wild-fowl at Newmarket—The cause and remedy—Collapse of the Spanish match—Political incidents—The King unable to get to Newmarket—The political horizon clears—And the King goes to Newmarket in November—More about the preservation of the game—Lord Petre's warren—Landlord, tenant, and sovereign—Serious illness of King—Passing events at the court—Sporting affairs—Incidents and orders—The rival Persian ambassadors—Curious expenses incurred at the palace during these royal visits—*Lord Grey*—*Sir George Goring, Junior*—*Lord Petre*—*Sir William Pelham*—*Viscount Annandale*—1625. The last sojourn of James I.—His fatal illness—His predilection for sport under difficulties—More Newmarket proclamations—More Newmarket peers—Jobbery—The golden age of corruption—*Lady Purbeck* and the Prince of Wales—Deer in the London parks—Departure of the King for Chesterford—He arrives at Royston—His last illness and death—His character as a sportsman

—Posthumous present of hawks from James I. to Louis XIII.—Expenses and account of their transmission to France—The ninety-nine knights of Newmarket created during the sojourns of the King—Contemporary opinions upon the knights and baronets of the period—*Lord Baltimore.*

James I. Newmarket. Royal sojourns. 1615—1625. 1615. January—March.

On January 12, 1615, the king left London for Newmarket, where the court was located, on and off, until March 22nd. During this royal visit the Marquis of Brandenburg was entertained at the palace at a cost of £125 4*s.* 3½*d.** On the 19th, Sir Dudley Norton was knighted at Newmarket, "whither he went to take his leave at his going over to Ireland."† On the first day of the ensuing month, Mr. Secretary Winwood paid his first official visit to Newmarket, where he was obliged to consult the king on affairs of state. The journey down was made in a fearful storm of snow, and was doubtless anything but a pleasing reminiscence to the minister, who, it seems, was not prepared for such an inclement passage. He was, however, better prepared for his journey back, as he left Newmarket on the morning of February 8th, and arrived in London "in a day," after "a sore journey, as the ways are; but he had coaches laid for him in three places."‡

* Cofferers Accs., Series II., box E., Rot. 71, MS., P.R.O.

† Birch MS., Add., 4173.

‡ Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, Feb. 9, 1614–15, Birch MS., 4173. Of the hard winter of this year, see Howe's Abridgement of Stow's Chronicle, 8vo edit., 1618, by which it appears the severity of the frost and snow was extreme, and continued almost without change until the first week in March, "by meanes whereof much cattle perished, as calves and lambs, deer and conies, etc. The snow brought extreme danger to travellers. After this snow thawed, there followed inundations great and violent, which did great spoil and damage."

It is obvious the weather put a stop to anything in the shape of field sports at Newmarket, and it is therefore no matter of surprise that no mention of any outdoor events are chronicled during the spring visit. In the absence of more congenial topics we may mention that Sir George Chaworth obtained the reversion of the office of constable and keeper of Bristol Castle, Andy Boyd £1000 as a free gift, Thomas Kaye a presentation of the rectory of Branesborough, in the diocese of York, Nicholas Hoare a gunner's place in the Tower, the Earl of Salisbury £900 for the almshouses next the king's stables in Cheshunt and £200 for Park Grove in Enfield Park, the Earl of Dorset licence to enfranchise the copyholds belonging to some of his manors, George Herriot £2952 odd for jewels and goldsmith's work for Prince Charles, together with similar cogent matters; from which it is evident stress of weather did not interfere with the importunities of the suitors who beset the Court, and that Newmarket maintained the reputation it acquired in the dispensation of favours, in spite of the inclemency of the season. The Cambridge comedians endeavoured to enliven the surrounding dulness, but in this respect they were not particularly successful, as the weather threw a damper on their acting, and probably the elements kept away the fair sex, and without the presence of the ladies the best theatre and the best acting is as jolly as a Scotch sabbath.†

On the 6th of February, 1614–15, a letter, "pro Rege," was addressed to Sir Nicholas Bacon,[49] Sir

* State Papers, Domestic, vol. xc., *passim.* † Birch MS., 4173.

Robert Drury,[50] Sir Thomas Jermin,[51] and to Sir William Woodhouse, Knight,[52] that by themselves or their deputies they have care to preserve "his Majesty's game of hare, heron, duck, mallard, etc., within twelve miles' compass of Newmarket and Thetford, and to punish offendors as well by course of Justice, as by taking from them their greyhounds, beagles, guns, bowes, setting dogs, trammel nets, etc." *

The king and court were again at Newmarket in November, when the Overbury poisoning case engrossed all other topics, so far at least as related to prominent public events. But the insidious backstairs influences, which rarely saw the light of day until after the jobbery in hand was done too effectually for redress, were rampant. An instance of this kind, which had now taken place, illustrates the terrible power acquired by the Scotch courtiers. Sir Walter Butler, who had recently succeeded his late uncle to the Earldom of Ormond, arrived in Newmarket for the purpose of moving the king to grant him the hereditary and natural right of possessing and enjoying his estates. But his inheritance, by some specious backstairs influence, was conferred by the king, contrary to all law and justice, upon the new earl's brother-in-law, Lord Dingwall in the peerage of Scotland. The Earl of Ormond[53] naturally protested at being thus swindled out of his patrimony. But his remonstrance was unavailable, and, instead of obtaining justice, he was peremptorily committed to the Fleet, and confined there, *coram rege*,

1615. November—December.

* Signet Office. "Docquet Book," vol. vi., *s. d.* MS., P.R.O.

for many long and weary years, in want of the common necessaries of life. In December a proclamation was issued requiring noblemen and gentlemen to reside at their chief mansions in the country, for the better maintenance of hospitality. Lord-lieutenants and justices of the peace, who did not spend nine months in the year in their own counties, were to lose their commissions.* During this year the king entertained the Venetian ambassador and the Chancellor of Scotland at Newmarket, but the precise date has not transpired.† Sir John Throckmorton,[49] writing to Mr. Turnbull, December 7th, says: "The King is at Newmarket, where there are at this present time twenty earls and barons attending, and such number of principal gentlemen, as that it is wondered how they can lodge in that poor village. The King hath sent for some of his great horses at Newmarket, for St. Anthony, the Rider." He adds: "Every morning Sir George Villiers is a-horseback, and taught to ride, whose favour increaseth."‡

[49] Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, eldest son of the Lord Keeper, was the first person advanced to the dignity of

* State Papers, Dom., vol. lxxxiv.

† "To John Hobborne for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman vsher and three yeoman hangers two groomes of the Chamber two Groomes of the wardrobe, and one groome porter for makinge ready certen roomes at Newmarkett for the Venetian Ambassador the space of twoe dies and for making ready certen roomes there twoe severall tymes for the Chauncellor of Scotland the space of four diees, etc."—Apperallers Accounts, m. 58.

Walter, Earl of Ormond, was at Newmarket in attendance on the king "in the matter of Lord Digwell," Nov. 24.—State Papers, Ireland, vol. ccxxxiii., No. 43.

‡ "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i., p. 383.

a baronet, on the institution of that order by James I. at Newmarket, in 1611. He married Anne, only daughter and heiress of Edmund Butts, Esq., of Thornage, in Norfolk, by Anne, his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Henry Buers, Esq., of Barrow, in Suffolk, and had issue six sons and four daughters. He died in 1649.

[50] On July 2, 1611, SIR ROBERT DRURY, of Halsted, county Essex, with his wife and family, obtained licence to travel for three years in parts beyond the seas. He died in April, 1615.

[51] SIR THOMAS JERMYN, of Rushbrooke, county Suffolk, subsequently Treasurer of the Household to Charles I. He had two sons, Thomas, 2nd Baron Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury, and Henry, afterwards Earl of St. Albans.

[52] SIR WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, son of Sir William Woodhouse (the valiant Vice-Admiral of England, *temp.* Queen Mary, who was the second son of Sir Roger Woodhouse, of Kimberley and Waxham, county Norfolk), was knighted by James I. in 1603, "at Sir George Fermor's." Bloomfield mentions that Sir William Woodhouse "is said to have been the first person in England that erected and invented decoys for the taking of wild ducks" ("Hist. Norfolk," vol. ix., p. 353).

[53] SIR WALTER BUTLER, of Kilcash, county Kilkenny, grandson of James Butler, 9th Earl of Ormond, and Joan, daughter and heiress of James, 11th Earl of Desmond, succeeded, as 11th EARL OF ORMOND, to the dignities of his family only, on the death of his uncle Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond; who, dying in 1614, and leaving (by his second countess, Elizabeth, daughter of John, 2nd Lord Sheffield) one surviving child only, who, through the influence of James I., was married to Sir Richard Preston, Baron Dingwall in Scotland, and Earl of Desmond in Ireland. But on the demise of the 10th Earl of Ormond, his estates were claimed by his son-in-law, Lord

Dingwall, who retained them by royal will and favour. James I., to support a favourite, constituted himself arbitrator in the case; but Walter, the 11th Earl, refusing to submit to such a partisan arrangement, his estates were seized by order of the King, and himself committed prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained for eight years in the most shameful want of the necessaries of life. Earl Walter married Helena, eldest daughter of Edmund, 2nd Viscount Mountgarret, by whom he had (with daughters) one son, Thomas, Viscount Thurles, drowned December 15, 1619. He died in 1632, and was succeeded by his grandson, James Butler, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormond.

[54] Sir John Throckmorton, Knight, eldest son of Thomas Throckmorton, Esq., of Cloughton, Warwickshire, was a prominent courtier and sportsman in the reign of James I. His father's life was one continued scene of difficulty, owing to his religious opinions, his estate being frequently under sequestration and his person often imprisoned. His severest calamity, however, was the loss of the manor of Ravenston, which he held by lease from the Crown, at the yearly rent of £63 13s., payable at Lady Day and Michaelmas, or within forty days after these periods; but advantage having been taken many years after (occasioned by a servant losing part of the money at gaming, which he was sent to pay), he was deprived of this estate, and although the money was subsequently paid to the Crown, and an acquittance given for it as if paid at the proper period, yet he could never obtain restitution of the property.

James R.
Our will and pleasure is that p^r^sentlie vppon receipte hereof yo^u^ kill w^th^in yor Chardge one ffatt Doae of this season and the same to deliu^r^ vnto this bearer for wch this o^r^ warrn^t^ shalbe yor dischardge.

Given at Newmarket the fiftenth of december 1615.

To the Keeper of o^r^ Parke at Elthame.*

* Harl. MS., 9683, 105, 184.

To John Hebborne for thallowaunce of himselfe one yeoman vsher three yeomen hangers twoe groomes of the Chamber twoe groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for makinge ready Certaine roames at Newmarkett for the Venetian Ambassader the space of twoe daies And for makinge ready certen roomes there twoe severall tymes for the Chauncellor of Scotland the space of twoe daies And for making ready certayne roomes at Royston for a Comedie the space of faur daies In all the space of tenne daies menss Februar et Martij 1615 ix^{li} xvj^{s} viij^{d}.—"Accounts of the Treasurer of the Household, *sub dato* (m. 58), M.S., P.R.O.

On or about the 1st of February, 1616, the king and court arrived at Newmarket, and a few days afterwards his Majesty was on horseback, "and bore it well." Tidings from London were to the effect that the council very properly decided to supply the North-Sea fishing fleet with two small war-vessels to secure them from the Dutch and other pirates, but this necessary precaution was, in the opinion of the king, "a needless and unprecedented charge." Nevertheless the council adhered to their resolution, and humbly submitted rhyme and reason for taking such action in that behalf; still the king persisted in his opinion, and, of course, had his way. The result was that the voyage had to be abandoned, to the great loss of the fishermen and many other adventurers therein. Curiously enough, this Newmarket ukase was issued on Ash Wednesday, a day of all others in the calendar favourable to ichthyophagy and ichthyology, and at a period when the observance of Lent was ordered to be enforced by all law-abiding lieges throughout the realm. The follow-

1616. February.

ing day the king dined with Lord Gerard, when, let us hope, "the salmon disagreed with him." If parsimonious to the poor fishermen, King James was prodigal to his favourites; Somerset[55] sent to the Tower, Buckingham created a duke, and "elected into the order of the Garter;"* the Earl of Rutland[56] being also honoured with the promise of the Blue Ribbon; while Sir Edward Brabazon[57] and Sir Garrett Moore[58] were elevated to the peerage, the former with the title of Baron Brabazon of Ardee, the latter as Baron Moore of Melfont. Such were the doughty deeds done at Newmarket during this Spring Meeting; unfortunately, they have eclipsed the ordinary affairs of sport thereat occurring.†

In November and December the king again honoured Newmarket with visits, when some changes took place in the keepership of the Palace and the New Warren. The Duchess of Guise wrote for renewal of permission for her people of Eu and Treport, to fish with four boats on the coasts of the Cinque Ports, which was graciously granted, on condition that it should not be a pretext for others to fish, or employ improper nets, otherwise the licences to be forfeited.‡

November.

Mr. Secretary Winwood,[59] in a despatch to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated Whitehall, November 26, 1616, says: "Here hath nothing happened, but the

* Technically this is a mistake on the part of the intelligencer. George Villiers was made a baron and viscount by patent, *dated* August 22, 1616, and *installed* K.G. in July same year.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. lxxxvi.; "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i.

‡ *Ibid.*

fall of the lord chief justice Coke, who had run himself so far into his majesty's displeasure, that he is removed from both his place in council, and upon the bench. In the latter, Sir Henry Montagu hath succeeded him, and Sir Lionel Cranfield [60] is sworn master of requests extraordinary. My papers," he continued, "being gone to Newmarket, whither I am presently to follow, I cannot well tell whether I did let you understand by my last, that Sir Thomas Edmondes was now upon his return into England. If I did omit it, you shall know by these that he is to be made comptroller of the household; the lord Wotton [61] being by surrender of the Lord Knollys [62] to be treasurer; after which honour done him, he is to resume his charge in France, until the affairs of that kingdom shall be established." *

One of the most prominent incidents in connection with this royal sojourn at Newmarket was the fall and disgrace of Chief Justice Coke. The great lawyer, as above mentioned, was arbitrarily deprived of his offices and emoluments by James I., owing to his having incautiously uttered some words hinting that the king caused the death of Prince Henry by poison. Soon after he was deprived of his offices, Coke retired to the residence of Mrs. Anne Sadler, his eldest daughter, in Hertfordshire, whence he made several journeys to Newmarket during the sojourn of the Court there, in the fall of this year. It was the centre of bribery and corruption, and the ex-judge well knew how to play his cards at Newmarket. To propitiate Bucking-

* Carleton's Letters, edit. 1780, p. 75.

ham and fawn upon the king were the first steps towards regaining the favour he had lost and the royal road to higher dignities and enhanced opulence. On receiving a hint that his compliance with a private job of Buckingham's would prevent his dismissal, he ostensibly refused the temptation, saying, "A judge must not pay a bribe or take a bribe." Nevertheless, we find him at Newmarket, early in December, perpetrating bribery of the most gross description by the sale of his youngest daughter to Buckingham's eldest brother, Sir John Villiers; for he knew it would be an effectual way to propitiate the favourite. This, however, occasioned a violent dispute and quarrel between Coke and his second wife, who, resenting her husband's attempt to dispose of his daughter without asking her leave, carried away the young lady, and lodged her at Sir Edward Withipole's house, near Oatlands. Upon this Coke wrote immediately to Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy Council to restore his daughter to him; but before he received an answer, discovering where she was, he went and took her by force, which occasioned his wife to complain in her turn to the Privy Council. Much confusion followed; and this private match became at length an affair of state. Eventually the differences were made up, and Sir John Villiers married Frances Coke at Hampton Court, with all the splendour imaginable. This alliance, however, cost Coke an enormous sum in dower and settlements, and, as we shall subsequently have occasion to record, proved an unhappy one for the bride—the future Countess of Purbeck.

Having thus secured the first step towards regaining his status, the palace gates were soon thrown open for his admission to the king, by the influence of the favourite. Coke, who continued on and off at Newmarket during November and December, watching for a favourable opportunity of getting access to the king, attained his object in due time. "The first time he had good success, and kissed the King's hand What success he had the second time," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, "I cannot yet learn, for the news is as new as most certain and true. The motive of his first journey was the report of some of his Friends to the king, how much he was dismayed and dejected. Whereupon the king answered, that if he came to him, he should find that he owed him no further displeasure, and indeed he has given Order before to dash certain suits commenced in the Star Chamber against him. And Mr. Attorney [Bacon] committed two of his men to the Fleet, for presuming to give order against him in his name, or as by his direction. His friends are in hope that he shall very shortly be restored to the Council-table. His Lady hath somewhat changed her copy, and finding how sharply her former carriage sounded as well with friends as foes, hath reclaimed herself and a little mollified the matter, as if she had no such meaning as was conceived." * He adds: "There is a surd bruit † as if the Blazing Star [Buckingham] at last were toward an eclipse, and that there is some glimpse or sparkling of a less Comet of the Lord of Mont-

* Birch MS., 4173, fo. 530. † *I.e.* rumour; and an idle one.

gomery's lighting. There hath been of late both big words and looks from him and the Lord Hay towards the present Favourite, which is taken of ominous, and with all he hath been crasy [unwell] ever since he came to Newmarket."* In a subsequent letter Mr. Chamberlain mentions that Coke "was twice with the king at Newmarket, so well and graciously used, that he is as jocund and jovial as ever he was. It is generally said he shall be made a Baron; but some interpret this kindness to be but for the compassing of the match for the Lord Villiers's brother with one of his daughters."† Such was the termination of this incident: it demonstrates alike the sycophancy of the ex-Chief Justice,[63] the supineness of the monarch, and the corruptness of the reigning favourite.

Among other passing events we must not omit to mention that Prince Charles was a frequent visitor at Newmarket during this year. All the details attending the separate establishment which his father gave him were arranged at Newmarket. We subjoin some interesting particulars relating to his Royal Highness's hunting establishment which was maintained at an annual cost of £547 8*s.* 6*d.* Charles was created Prince of Wales by letters patent dated Newmarket, November 4, 1616.‡

Before concluding our description of this royal sojourn at Newmarket, we must briefly allude to the projected progress, in the following summer, to Scotland, the details of which were settled here by the

* Birch MS., 4173, fo. 534. † *Ibid.*
‡ Camden's Annals, *sub dato.*

king and the court officials. On December 15, James himself wrote to the Privy Council of Scotland "anent the causis of his heir coming," and to give them timely notice of the high honour he thus intended to confer upon "his native and ancient kingdom." He professed that for many years he had a great and natural longing to revisit his native heath, which "salmon-like" instinct produced restlessness, and caused him to wake many times in his sleep, so much so that he could never rest satisfied till the journey was accomplished. A lot of fulsome twaddle follows, in which his Majesty excuses himself for neglecting to revisit the "Land o' Cakes" at an earlier period; but the fact was "The Land of Promise" possessed too many attractions when compared with the natural products of his "ancient kingdom," which, in the opinion of Sir Anthony Weldon (who had the misfortune of being included in the king's suite during the progress), only possessed "great store of fowle, as fowle houses, fowle sheetes and shirts, fowle lynnen, fowle dishes and potts, fowle trenchers and napkins, with which sort," he adds, "we have been forced to fare as the children of Israel did with their fowle in the wilderness."

[55] Robert Carr, of Fernihurst, half-brother of Andrew, 1st Lord Jedburgh, was one of the numerous Scots who rendered themselves so obnoxious to the English in the reign of James I. This person was particularly disliked, owing to the underhand share he had in the destruction of the idolized Sir Walter Raleigh, whose estates the royal favourite coveted, and subsequently obtained. Carr, having ingratiated himself into the favour of James I., was appointed, upon the decease

of George, Lord Dunbar, Treasurer of Scotland, and elevated to the peerage as Viscount Rochester, March 25, 1611. In May following he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and created, November 3, 1613, Baron Carr of Branspeth, in the bishopric of Durham, and Earl of Somerset, but, of course, without any claim by birth or connection to these old and honourable dignities. He was also nominated Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and sworn of the Privy Council. At this time he was esteemed the first favourite of the Court, and he retained his pride of place until the king discarded him at Newmarket, as above mentioned. His implication in the Overbury poisoning case, and his intrigue with Lady Francis Howard, are subjects which have been treated by all the historians of the period, and need no comment here. The Earl of Somerset was released from the Tower in 1621, but was afterwards confined in the house of Viscount Wallingford. He died in July, 1645, leaving an only daughter, Anne, who married William, 5th Earl of Bedford, and was mother of the illustrious patriot, William, Lord Russell. The Countess of Bedford was as distinguished for purity as her unhappy mother had been for the reverse. Upon his lordship's decease this Viscounty of Rochester and Earldom of Somerset happily became extinct.

[56] Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland, K.G.—second son of John, 4th Earl of Rutland, and Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Charlton, Esq., of Apley Castle, Salop—succeeded to the earldom on the death of his brother (who died issueless) in 1612. In 1618 he succeeded his cousin, William Cecil, Baron de Ros (son of Lady Elizabeth Manners, Baroness Ros, by the Right Hon. William Cecil, Earl of Exeter), in that barony, and thus reunited the Earldom of Rutland with the Barony of Ros (which had been separated in 1587). He married first, Frances, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevet, of Charlton, county Wilts, and widow of Sir William Bevill, of Kirkhampton, in Cornwall, by whom he had an only daughter, Katherine, who married, 1st, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, and 2ndly, Randal Macdonald, Earl

of Antrim. The Earl of Rutland married, secondly, Cecily, daughter of Sir James Tufton, of Hothfield, and widow of Sir Edward Hungerford. He died December, 1632, and thus leaving no male issue, the old Barony of Ros devolved upon his daughter, the Barony of Ros of Hamlake (created for and held by him) expired, and the other honours passed to his brother George, 7th Earl of Rutland. It may be here observed that 134 years after Francis, 6th Earl of Rutland, was nominated a Knight of the Garter at Newmarket, his descendant, John Manners, Marquis of Granby, by his marriage with Lady Frances Seymour, became Lord of the Manor of Newmarket, and that this property has been successively held by the Dukes of Rutland ever since. Francis, the 6th Earl, travelled much on the Continent in his youth. He was made Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire and Justice of Eyre of all the king's forests and chases north of Trent, in 1612, and in the execution of that important post he acquired much obloquy, in consequence of the severity with which he administered the forest laws. In 1617 he was one of the lords who attended the king in his progress to Scotland by special appointment; and in 1623 he commanded the expedition despatched to bring the Prince of Wales home from Spain.

[57] Sir Edward Brabazon—eldest son and heir of Sir William Brabazon, Knight, Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General of Ireland, and Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Nicholas Clifford, Esq.—was little more than three years old at his father's death, and, when in England, resided at Nether-Whitacre, county Warwick. In 1571, having attained his majority, he had a special livery of his estate; was sworn of the Privy Council in 1584, and in the Irish Parliament of 1585 he was one of the members for the county Wicklow. In 1590 he contributed towards the foundation of Trinity College, near Dublin, and filled, from time to time, several minor posts in Ireland. "And being a person highly considered by the Crown," says Lodge, "for his great and manifold services, was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of BARON BRABAZON, of Ardee, with limitations to his issue-male, by

Privy Seal, dated at Newmarket, 14 February, 1615[-16], and by patent at Dublin, 19 July, 1616, 21st of which month he and the Lord Moore were created Lords by Deputy, after an occasional sermon, preached in St. Patrick's church, by Dr. James Usher. In 1620 he was commissioned, with Nicholas, Lord of Howth, and others, to ascertain the number of alehouses in the county of Dublin; and 15 July, 1624, appointed one of the Commissioners to keep the peace in the province of Leinster, during the absence of Lord D. Falkland on his progress to view the plantation lately begun by the king in Ulster, and to settle the government in those remote parts. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Smith, of Micham in Surrey, Knight, and, dying 7 August, 1625, had issue by her six sons and eight daughters." William Brabazon, 11th and present Earl of Meath, now represents this Newmarket creation.

[58] Sir Garrett Moore—eldest son of Sir Edward Moore and Mildred, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Clifford, Esq., of Chart, county Kent—obtained pardon, June 9, 1603, for all treasonable and other offences committed by him in Ireland during the preceding reign, whereupon he obtained from James I. some subordinate administrative posts in that kingdom. In the Irish Parliament of 1613 he was member for the borough of Dungannon; May 20, 1615, appointed a member of the Council of Munster; and July 8, same year, he was rated at 100 marks (*£66 13s. 4d.*), for the subsidy then granted to James I. In 1616 Sir Garrett was captain of twenty-five horse-soldiers at *4s.* a day, "and the King," says Lodge, "taking into consideration his great and manifold services to the crown, was pleased, in testimony of the favour he bore him, to create him and his heirs male BARON MOORE of Mellefont, by Privy Seal, dated at Newmarket 15 February, 1615[16], and by patent at Dublin 20 July, 1616; the day after which (being Sunday) his Lordship and the Lord Ardee were so created by deputy, after a sermon preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral by Dr. James Usher, then chancellor of that Cathedral, from these words, Acts *xvii.* 11, *There were*

more noblemen than they which were at Thessalonica." By Privy Seal dated at Westminster, January 5, 1621[–22], and by patent, dated February 7, same year, he was elevated a step in the peerage by the title of Viscount Moore of Drougheda. His lordship married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Colley, of Castle-Carbery, county Kildare, by whom he had issue seven sons and five daughters. Henry Moore, the 3rd Viscount, was created Earl of Drougheda June 14, 1661, and Charles, the 6th Earl, became Marquis of Drougheda by patent, dated June 27, 1791. Francis Henry Seymour Moore, 8th Earl, and 3rd Marquis of Drougheda, K.P., ranger of the Curragh, one of the most notable turfites in Ireland, now represents this Newmarket creation.

[59] SIR RALPH WINWOOD, Secretary of State in the reign of James I., was son of Lewis Winwood, Esq., sometime secretary to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and was born in 1565, at Aynho, in Northamptonshire. After completing his university career at Oxford, he travelled on the Continent, and returned to England a very accomplished gentleman. In 1599 he attended Sir Henry Neville, ambassador to France, as his secretary; and in the absence of Sir Henry, was appointed resident at Paris, whence he was recalled in 1602–3, and sent later in that year to the States of Holland by James I. In 1607 he was knighted, and the same year appointed ambassador, jointly with Sir Richard Spencer, to Holland. He was sent there again in 1609 by James I., to deliver the Remonstrance of the British Solomon against the so-called heresy of Vorstius to the assembly, or council, of the States, to which royal utterance they very properly paid little attention. Upon this the king proceeded to threaten them with his pen, and in one of those Newmarket effusions his Majesty had the audacity to tell them that if they had the hardiness to "fetch again from hell ancient heresies long since dead, etc., he should be constrained to proceed publicly against them." This idiotic ebullition of royal wisdom, with amplifications, was printed and published by royal command in 1611.

Taken altogether, it must be considered a good joke—for a Scotch king. In 1614 Winwood was made Secretary of State, in which office he continued till his death, which took place October 27, 1617. During this interval he was a frequent resident in Newmarket. He left a son, who dying without issue in 1688, his estate went to a son of Edward, Earl of Montague, who had married his sister.

[60] Sir Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of London, and married to a kinswoman of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, was introduced to the court of James I. by that celebrated favourite, when he received the honour of knighthood, and soon after attracting the attention of the king by his habits of business, he was appointed master of the requests, next master of the king's great wardrobe, then master of the wards, after which he was sworn of the Privy Council, and elevated to the peerage as Baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, co. Bedford, July 9, 1621. In the October following he was constituted Lord Treasurer of England, and created, September 16, 1622, Earl of Middlesex (the first person, says Dugdale, to whom that county gave the title of earl). Within two short years, however, he was impeached by Parliament through the influence of the very person who was the founder of his fortune, the favourite Buckingham, for bribery, extortion oppression, and other misdemeanours, for which he received judgment. He died in 1645, and notwithstanding his disgrace, was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory.

[61] Thomas Wotton, 2nd Baron Wotton—son and successor of Sir Edward Wotton, Knight, 1st Baron Wotton, of Maherly or Marley, county Kent, and his wife Hester, daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Puckering, Knight of Oswald-Kirk, county York—succeeded, on the death of his father, *circa* 1604, to the family honours and estates. He married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Arthur Throck-

morton, of Paulers Perry, Northamptonshire, and had issue, Katherine, who married, 1st, Henry, Lord Stanhope, by whom she was mother of Philip, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield, Katherine married to William, Lord Alington, and Mary, who died unmarried. Her ladyship married, 2ndly, John Poliander Kirkhoven, Lord of Heenvilett, in Holland. She married, 3rdly, Colonel Daniel O'Neile, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to Charles II. Her ladyship was governess to the Princess of Orange, daughter of Charles I., and was created by Charles II. Countess of Chesterfield for life. Her second daughter, Hesther, married Baptist, Viscount Campden. The heir-general of this co-heiress of Lord Wotton was the late Duke of Devonshire, K.G. Her third daughter, Margaret, married Sir John Tufton, Knight, and the fourth daughter, Anne, married Sir Edward Hales, Knight, of Tunstall, Kent. Lord Wotton died at Bocton, April 2, 1630, aged forty-two, when the Barony of Wotton, in default of male issue, became extinct.

[62] William Knollys, Treasurer of the Household in the reign of Elizabeth, was advanced to the peerage by James I., by letters patent dated May 13, 1603, in the dignity of LORD KNOLLYS, of Greys, county Oxford (his chief seat). In 1614 he was appointed Master of the Wards, and within a short time installed a Knight of the Garter. In 1616 he was created Viscount Wallingford, and advanced by Charles I., August 18, 1626, to the Earldom of Banbury, with precedency of all earls who were created before him. He married, 1st, Dorothy, daughter of Edward, Lord Bray, sister and co-heir of John, Lord Bray, and widow of Edmund, Lord Chandos, by whom he had no issue; and 2ndly, Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, and, dying, May 25, 1632, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, was buried in the church of Greys. The subsequent history of this peerage would, if reproduced in detail, fill an average library (more or less). The gist of the matter lay thus: Upon the decease of the Earl of Banbury, the inquisition found that he died *sine prole*, but leaving a widow, Elizabeth, his last wife. His honours

were then deemed extinct, and his estates passed to his collateral heirs, excepting such as he had devised to his widow, who afterwards married Lord Vaux. In a few years this lady produced two sons, born during her marriage with Lord Banbury, her first husband. They had first been called Vaux, but now she set them up as the sons of the Earl of Banbury, and gave to the eldest the title of that earldom. They were not of age before the House of Lords had been abolished during the Commonwealth. The elder died. Nicholas, the survivor, availing himself of the convocation of Parliament in 1660, took his seat therein, and voted on several occasions. But soon after a question arose as to his right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, which occasioned a series of investigations, committees, and trials, that lasted, on and off, until, in 1813, it was finally decided that Lord Banbury's descendant, the then claimant, was not entitled to the honours and estates of the earldom, which title still remains in abeyance.

[68] Edward Coke—son of Robert Coke, of Milcham, county Norfolk, and Winifred, daughter and co-heiress of William Knightly, of Morgave Knightly, in the same county—was born at Milcham, February 1, 1551–2. He received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School at Norwich, and went in 1567 to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he remained three years and a half. He was called to the bar April 20, 1578. About 1585 he was chosen Recorder of Coventry, and the next year the same office was given to him by the citizens of Norwich. In 1592 he was likewise appointed Recorder of the City of London. By Lord Burleigh he was selected as Solicitor-General, June 16, 1592. In 1598 he married Elizabeth, relict of Sir William Hatton, and daughter of Thomas Cecil, who had just succeeded his father as Lord Burleigh, by whom he had, with other issue, a daughter Frances, above mentioned. On the accession of James I., Coke was confirmed in his offices, and received the honour of knighthood at the hands of the new sovereign, to whom he became a most subservient tool. His mode of conducting the prosecution of Sir Walter Raleigh

was heartless and unmanly, and after the trials of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, he was elevated to the bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, June 30, 1606. On ascending the judicial seat Coke discarded all appearance of subserviency, and boldly asserted the independence of the judge. He did not hesitate to oppose the king in his attempts to extend the royal prerogative; consequently several conflicts between them upon this and cogent questions arose,* with which James was greatly offended, culminating in the removal of the Chief Justice from his office, November 15, 1616, and the subsequent incidents between them at Newmarket, above mentioned. Coke was restored to his seat in the Privy Council in September, 1617, and appointed, July 21, 1618, one of the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer. During these years he was employed in various commissions, and his assistance was required in the Star Chamber in all cases of difficulty; but he received no substantial proof of the renewal of the royal confidence. In Parliament he represented, during his career, several constituencies, but as a legislator he did not shine, whilst his "Commentary on Littleton" and his other law books have mainly tended to preserve his name from oblivion. He died on September 3, 1633, being then nearly eighty-two years of age, and was buried in the church of Tittleshall, county Norfolk, in which a marble monument, bearing his effigy at full length, is erected to his memory.

HUNTESMEN FOR THE PRINCES BUCKHOUNDES, VIZ.: Alsoe allowed for money paid to Tymothie Tirrell, Esq., M^r^ of the Princes Buckhounds at xx^li^ p. ann., payable q^r^terly, due to him for one whole yeare ended at Michas' Anno Regis

* In October, 1616, Justice Warburton was in some disfavour for hanging a Scotch falconer of the king's at Oxford, contrary, as alleged, to the express commands that he should be reprieved. It was generally said that he should be displaced, and have a writ of ease, as it was called; but it appears the royal wrath was appeased, as that judge continued on the bench of the Court of Common Pleas (Birch MS., 4173). See the *Field*, December 27, 1854, p. 880.

Jacobi xiiij, xx^{li}. To Edward Harte, Sergeant of the Princes Buckhounds in the roome and place of Sergeant Rayen by Surrender, due to him from the Feast of St. Michaell th'Archangell, 1615, by virtue of his Ma^{ts} Lres, vnder the Signett dated at Newmarkett the xxixth of February, 1615, Anno Regni Regi Jacobi xiij^{mo}, due to him for the same time, lxjx^{li} xiiij^{s}. To Anthoney Dodsworth, Yeoman, at xl^{li} vj^{s}. p. annum, payable q^{r}terly, due to him for one whole yere ended at Michas Anno Regni Regis Jacobi xiiij^{to}, xl^{li} vj.^{s} To Anthoney Brackenbury, William Readinge, Richard Ray, Nathan Jackson, and Paule Stacey, each of them at xxvj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. p. ann., for theire wages, payable q^{r}terly, due to them for the like time, cxxxiij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}. To Edward Staunton, yeoman, at xxxvj^{li}. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}., for his enterteynment, payable q^{r}terly, due to him for like time, xxxvj^{li}. xvj^{s}. viij^{d}. To William Rawson, waggoner, at xxvj^{li}. v^{s}. ij^{d}., for his enterteynment, payable q^{r}terly, due to him for like time, Anno pred, xxvj^{li}. v^{s}. ij^{d}. And to Jerome Metcalfe, William Guilliames, Francis Beauchampe, and Richard Eldridge, groomes, at xx^{li}. p. ann., for their enterteynm^{t} to each of them, payable q^{r}terly, due to them for one whole yeare ended as before, Thomas Eldrige only for three-q^{a}ters of a yeare ended at Midsumer, 1616, lxxxv^{li}. Total, cccxxij^{li}. viij^{s}. vj^{d}.

The Harriers to the Prince, viz.: Alsoe allowed for money paid to Thomas Cox, M^{r} of the Princes Harriers, keeping and feedinge of a kennel of hounds called Beagles, to continewe vntill such time as the Prince's howse bee established, the first payment to beginne from the feast of the Nativitie of St. John Baptist last past, 1615, by virtue of his Ma^{ts} Lres vnder the Signett bearinge date at Lulwoorth xij^{mo} die Augusti Anno Regis Jacobi xiij^{cio}, payable q^{r}terly, due to him for five q^{r}ters of a yeare ended at Michas Anno Regni Regis Jacobi xiiij^{to}. Total, cxxv^{li}.*

To Peeter Younge for thallowaunce of himselfe one gent vsher q^{r}ter wayter one yeoman Vsher one yeoman hanger

* L.T.R. Accounts of John, Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Treasurer of the Chamber, MS., P.R.O. (m. 55).

three groomes of the Chamber two groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for rydinge waytinge and attendinge in the Princes service from Whitehall to Theobalds, Royston, Newmarkett and back again to Theobalds the space of lxvj daies Mens Januarij, ffebruar et Martij 1615 Cxvij[li] Xiiij[s] (m. 57).

To him more for thallowaunce of himselfe one gent vsher q[r]ter wayter one yeoman vsher one yeoman hanger three groomes of the Chamber twoe groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for rydinge waytinge and attendinge in the Princes service from S[t] James to Theobalds to Royston to Abington, to Newmarkett to Thetford and soe back to Greenwich in all the space of xxxj daies Menss Aprill et Maij 1616, lv[li] v[s] viij[d] (m. 57 *d*).

To William Connocke, Yeoman Pricker in the roome and place of Thomas Murrall, deceased, at the like rate for his wages, payable q[r]terly, and for his Livery xxs. p. ann. payable at X'pmas, during his natural life, the first payment to begin from the Birth of our Lord God last past, 1615, By virtue of his Ma[ts] warr[t] vnder the Signett dated at Newmarkett the xxviij[th] of February Anno Regi Regis Jacobi, xiij[to], due to him for three q[r]ters of a yeare ended at Mich'as, etc.—Accs. Treasurer of the Chamber, MS., P.R.O.

"April 3. The King retired to *Newmarket;* after having appointed *Oliver St. John* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland.*

"*April* 24. *Francis*, Earl of *Rutland* and *George Villiers*, admitted into the Order of the Garter." *—Camden's Annals, by Bishop Kenneth, *sub anno*, Feb. 12, 1616.

Inundatio apud Newmarket.—Camden's Annals, Regni Regis Jacobi I., p. 16, edit. Lond., 1691.

In the month of February, 1617, the king entertained his Excellency Baron Winberg (who arrived at Newmarket on some diplomatic mission from the Count Palatine), when Sir Lewis Lewknor, Master of the

* They were installed at Windsor, July 7, 1616.

Ceremonies, was allowed £177 4s. "for defraying the charges of his Excellency to and from Newmarket, and for his own expense and attendance upon the said Ambassador during his abode there." *

Towards the end of the year the king also entertained the young Count of Anhalt and the Envoy Extraordinary of the King of Sweden at Newmarket Palace; the visit of the former having been occasioned by the god of love, the latter by the god of war, although his Excellency's mission resulted in a treaty of peace between his sovereign and the king's brother-in-law, the King of Denmark.†

The visit of the Ambassador Extraordinary of the King of Sweden to James I. at Newmarket Palace is thus described by Sir John Finet, Assistant Master of the Ceremonies, who was on duty during the occasion :—

. . . "The fourth of December, Master Secretary *Lake* sent for me, and shewed me a Letter he had then received from the Earl of *Buckingham* (then with the King at *Newemarket*) signifying in Answer of, and by him from my Lord Chamberlaine, That whereas the Ambassador of the King of *Sweden*, was desirous of an Audience there, the King was pleased he should have it, but not to be defraied (as that which had never yet been done to any of that Kings Ambassadors, neither would he bring up any such Custome) but that for Coaches and other things usuall, his Majesties pleasure was that Order should be taken to furnish him. Upon sight of this Letter, I desired Sir *Thomas Lake* to send to the Master of the Ceremonies, but he was out of Town, as was also the Lord Chamberlaine, whom when he returned I

* Pells, Order Book.

† The extraordinary expenses of a state banquet given to the former was £21 1s. 7d., and to the latter, £22 11s. 5d.—Cofferers' Account, Series II., box E., Rot. 76.

acquainted with the business. At the first he was of Opinion, that the Ambassador himself must pay for the hire of his Coaches, but I intimating, that it was his first Audience he was to go to, at which usually his Majesty sent his own Coaches at the King's charge, but not that he should have carriages, so for his Baggages also demanded, as being an allowance without president, yet this also at the last (besides the hire of two horses) was yeelded to, and we sett forth from London the eight of *December*, came the first night to Puckerage, whence I wrote by a Servant, sent before with the Ambassadors Cookes, to the Earle of *Buckingham* to signifie our approach, and that if his Majesties pleasure were to do the Ambassador any further honour by incounter of some Noble Person on the way, his Lordship might have time to take, and give directions for it. But his Majesty and my Lord being (when my letters came) allready horsed to ride on hunting, all rested without further order till the evening that we arrived at our Lodging, whence I went immediately to my Lord of *Buckingham* (my Lord Chamberlain being then at London) with the accoumpt of our comming, and to solicite the Ambassadors Audience, but this being referred for resolution to the next morning, I acquainted Mr. Secretary *Lake*, and the Lord *Fenton* with the Ambassadors desire of despatch, and at eleaven of the Clock before noone obtained the Kings pleasure for access at two After noone, when the Lord *Clifford* with halfe a dozen Gentlemen of the privy Chamber, his Majesties Coach, and the Bishop of Winchesters were to receive him at his Lodging, and with the Ambassadors followers in [the] other foure Coaches that brought us from London, brought him to Court. He was conducted (without stay anywhere) to the Presence Chamber, where his Majesty was already come forth to receive him. Having delivered his letters of credence, he made an Oration (to the purpose of the Kings Princely Office of mediation for Peace between the King of Denmark, and Sweden) of almost an hour long. Which finished, and briefly answered by his Majesty in the same language [probably Latin], the Ambassador turned to the Prince, and beginning to him another formal

speech, the King left him, so did the Prince, and (after a while) the Ambassador returned to his Lodgings.

"This was on Thursday; the Saturday following about ten of the clock at night, came to my Lodging one of the Pages of the Bedd-Chamber to tell me from his Majesty, that his pleasure was I should invite the Ambassador to dine with him the next day; which I performed in the morning, and had his Majesties Coach (no more) attending at the Court gate, about Noone when the King having ordered, that a Noble man should fetch him from his Lodging, it was held by others needlesse, and except at his first Audience (now past) and at his last, I onely might serve the turn for his conduction, which was allowed of, and I with Sir *James Spence* onely, brought him through the Presence into the withdrawing Chamber, where the King within a while entering, he took him to dinner in the Presence Chamber. About the midst of the Table (as accustomed) sate the King, at his left hand the Prince, and at the Tables end beneath, the Ambassador, who had for his Carver none but the Princes, and for his cup one of his own Gentlemen.* Before dinner a question grew (which was diversely argued according to opinions) whether the Prince were to sit covered at dinner or no in Presence of his Father, seeing that the Ambassador, as a Kings representant, was not to sit uncovered? Some affirmed, they had seen the Prince sit bareheaded, when an Ambassador had his hat on: others otherwise. But the King cleared all, when after I had given him a hint of the question, and that himselfe had sate a while uncovered, he put on, and willed the like to be done by the Prince, and the Ambassador. The Ambassadors Gentlemen had no Table appointed for them (by the King's express order) because (he said) the young Prince of *Anhaults* † Gentlemen (who had been with him the weeke before) had none, though the reason might not seem

* The description of this state banquet recalls that given by Edward I. to John, King of France, when a prisoner in England after the battle of Poictiers.

† John George I., Count of Anhalt. He arrived in England about the same time as the Swedish Ambassador.

to serve for one as for the other (the different qualities of their Masters considered) but were sent two, or three of the chiefe of them to the Table of the Groome of the Stoole, the Lord *Fenton*, the rest dined after with the Princes Waiters.

"When dinner was done, the King retyred himselfe, and left the Ambassadors there in the withdrawing Chamber to attend there his returne, which was an houre after, and then holding with him a private conference, with whom I entering, his Majesty drew out my Sword and knighted with it the Ambassador. From thence the Ambassador went (by assignation from the Prince, who would save him, he said, his offered paines of going to his Inn and returning) straight to his Highnesse Lodgings, and after a short Audience, took his leave. His Majesty by the mediation of Sir *James Spence*, was pleased (besides giving him a Patent for conformation of his Knight-hood) to add a marke of honour to his Coate of Armes. The next day we left *Newmarket*, dined at Cambridge, saw the best Colledges there, lay the first night at Newport neare Audley end (which rare Building of the Earle of Suffolks the Ambassador also saw), lodged the next night at Waltham, and after ten dayes absence were againe at London." *

We must not omit to mention that during this royal sojourn at Newmarket a scheme for founding a Royal Academy in England was started by Edmund Bolton, an eminent scholar and antiquary of that period. This was the second year of George Villiers' introduction at Court, and there can hardly be a doubt that Bolton saw, in the rising influence of his countryman and distant kinsman, a circumstance favourable to the success of his design. It must be mentioned, to the honour of the reigning favourite, that he was a lover and encourager of the arts and

* "Finetti Philoxenis," pp. 41–45.

literature by natural inclination. The subject was first moved to him, having then become Marquis of Buckingham; and Bolton was introduced by him to James I. during this royal sojourn in Newmarket. There and then the first outline of the project was presented to the king; but the affair then fell through. It was again mooted in the House of Lords by Buckingham in March, 1621; the king was very well disposed to it, but his death seems to have been fatal to the undertaking; for, although his successor likewise extended his patronage to it, political events interfered, and led to its final abandonment. After the Restoration a kindred project was once more mooted. The scheme, it is true, somewhat differed from the original project, and was called "The Royal Society." *

On November 19 the king wrote from Newmarket to his ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, complaining that the States of Utrecht had, contrary to the course heretofore practised, bestowed a company in General Cecil's regiment, without his consent, upon a young man "of Sir John Ogle's name and kindred," "which," says the king, "we find very strange; and therefore we are pleased that you inform yourself by this draught of a letter, which we send you herewith, of the reasons against that course; and thereupon *insist* and press them in our name to *revoke* that, which, contrary to order, they have done therein, and to give to Sir Edward Cecil satisfaction." Cecil importuned Secretary Lake to impress this grievance on the atten-

* Archæologia, vol. xxiii.; Wild's "History of the Royal Society," vol. i.

tion of the ambassador; but his Excellency, considering a matter of such trivial consequence beneath the dignity of his office, and having regard to the fact that young Ogle was actually in the enjoyment of the captaincy, declined to interfere; and when this result was communicated to the king, he, with that profound wisdom which characterized all his Majesty's actions, coincided with what his Excellency had done, because any other course would have been without effect.*

On November 27 the Prince of Wales went to Newmarket, where he rehearsed a part in Ben Jonson's mask, the "Vision of Delight;" hence we learn that among other accomplishments, his Royal Highness went in for amateur theatricals.† As usual, several knights were made during this royal sojourn at Newmarket.

To John White Thomas Smythe John Corye and Thomas Huchingson ordinary yeomen of the Chamber vpon the Councels warrannte dated the laste of January 1616, for apprehending the prsons of diuers malefacto^rs^ who killed and destroyed his Ma^te^ game of hares in the Counties of Suffolke and Norfolke, and bringing them vp to answeare their Contempte vij.^li^ iiij.^s^—Accs. Treasurer of the Chamber, bundle 4, m. 74*d*.

To Thomas Walton, Marshall Farrier to his Ma^ty^ for Marshalrie donne by him in his Ma^ts^ Courser Stable 1616 to X'mas following 1617 being for one whole yeare then ended Cxlj^li^. xvij^s^. iiij^d^. To Thomas Walker for Marshalrie donne by him to his Ma^ts^ Hunting horses from February 1616 to January following 1617, being for one whole yeare as appeareth by a bill of particulars signed by the Master of the Horse xij^li^. xj^s^. ij^d^. (m. 89*d*).

* Carleton Letters, pp. 204–221.

† Birch MS., 1473, fo. 611*d*.

The following year the king went to Newmarket on January 14, and remained there until February 17, when the court returned to London.*

1618. January – February.

During the interval a list of tilters to compete on the 24th of March, was drawn up by the king, and forwarded by Mr. Secretary Naunton to the Earl of Suffolk "and the rest of the Lords Commissioners for Causes Martiall." †

Another royal visit took place in November, when the court was "very merry," and some quaint incidents occurred. A feast was held at a farmhouse in the vicinity of the town, to celebrate the birthday of the Prince of Wales, "to which the king and each present brought a dish." ‡

November.

Concerning this extemporized banquet, which was held in celebration of the birthday of Charles, Prince of Wales, Mr. Chamberlain wrote as follows to Sir Dudley Carleton;—"We hear nothing from Newmarket, but that they devise all the means they can to make themselves merry; as of late there was a feast appointed at a farm house not far off, whither every man should bring his dish. The king brought a great chine of beef, the Marquis of Hamilton [64] four pigs incircled with sausages, the Earl of Southampton [65] two turkies, another six partridges, and one a whole tray full of buttered eggs; so all passed off pleasantly."

Philip Mainwaring [66] writing to the Earl of Arundel from Newmarket, November 22, gives the following additional par-

* State Papers, Dom., vol. xcv., xcvi.
† See Nichols' "Progress of James I.," vol. iii., p. 472.
‡ State Papers, Dom., vol. xcv., xcvi.

ticulars of this novel feast :—"The Prince his birthday hathe beene solemnized heare by those few Marquises and Lords wch formed themselves heare, and, to supplie the want of the Lords, Knights and Squires were admitted to a consultation, wherein it was resolved that such a number should meete at Gamiges, and bring every man his dish of meate : It was left to theire owne choyces what to bring ; some strove to be substantiall, some curios, and some extravagant. Sr George Goring's[67] invention bore away the bell ; and that was foure huge brawny piggs, pipeinge hott, bitted and harnised with ropes of sarsiges, all tyde to a monstrous bagpudding." He adds, concerning current events at the palace, that "The King takes no more notice of the blazing starre then he hath alwayes done of the daystarre, nor will acknowledge it for any other.* . . . This morning the King knighted the new Governor of Virginia, Sr Edward Yardly,[68] who, upon long discourse wth the Kinge, doth prove very understandinge. Amongst many other things, he tould the King that the people of that country do beleeve the resurrection of the body ; and that when the body dyes, the soule goes into certaine faire pleasant fields, there to solace it self untill the end of the world, and then the soule is to retourne to the body againe, and they shall live both together happily and parpetually. Heareupon the King inferred that the Gosple must have been heretofore knowne in that countrie, though it be lost, and this fragment only remaynes. Sr Thomas Stewckley[69] plyes the backe staires close ; 'tis thought he will declare him self eare long. Sir Albertus Moreton[70] hath beene heare a day or too ; and I constantly remaine heare." †

[64] James, 2nd MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, K.G.—only son and successor of Lord John Hamilton, first Marquis, and Margaret, only daughter of John, Lord Glamis—acquired the

* A comet which appeared at this time, and of which a "Description" was published in 1619, by the celebrated astronomer, Bainbridge. It was supposed at the time to have predicted the qucen's death, and afterwards the troubles of Bohemia.

† Lodge, "Illustrations of British History," vol. iii., p. 403.

honours and estates of his family on the death of his father, April 12, 1604. He married Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James, 7th Earl of Glencairn, by whom he had James, his successor; William, successor of his brother; Anne, married to Hugh, 7th Earl of Eglintoun; Margaret, married to John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay; and Mary, married to James, 2nd Earl of Queensbury. This Marquis of Hamilton, who died March 2, 1625, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, Lord Steward of the household, and a Privy Councillor, and June 16, 1619, was advanced to the English peerage by the titles of Baron of Ennerdale and Earl of Cambridge. He was High Commissioner of the Parliament which sat in Edinburgh in 1621; and was installed a Knight of the Garter July 7, 1623. .

[65] Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton—only son and successor of Henry Wriothesley, the 2nd earl, and Mary, daughter of Antony Brown, Viscount Montague—acquired the honours and estates of his family on the death of his father in 1581. Having taken part with the unfortunate Earl of Essex in the treasonable proceedings for which that nobleman was beheaded, under such romantic circumstances, in 1599, he was also brought to trial, found guilty, and attainted. He, however, obtained the Queen's mercy for his life, but remained a prisoner in the Tower till a few days after the accession of James I., when he was released from prison, restored in blood by Act of Parliament, and created by a new patent, dated July 21, 1603, Earl of Southampton, with the same rights, precedency, and privileges that he formerly enjoyed. He was also made a Knight of the Garter, and constituted Captain of the Isle of Wight and the Castle of Carisbrooke. He was a nobleman of high courage, great honour, and integrity; was well respected by the king and court; was a patron of literature, and assisted Shakespeare to publish his first poems. His lordship married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, Esq., of Hodnet, county Derby, and dying in 1624, left issue Thomas, his successor;

Penelope, married to Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton; Anne, and Elizabeth.

[66] Sir Philip Mainwaring—fourth son of Sir Randle Mainwaring, Knight, of Over Peover, Cheshire (where his family has been seated since the Norman Conquest), and Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawesworth, Cheshire, sometime Treasurer of Ireland, *temp.* Elizabeth—was, as he himself tells us, a constant visitor at Newmarket at this period. In the ensuing reign he was Secretary of Ireland, under the Lieutenancy of the Earl of Strafford, and died unmarried, in London, August 2, 1661.

[67] Sir George Goring, sometimes styled "Master of the Game," of Hurst Pierrepoint, county Sussex, representative of a junior line of the ancient family of Goring, which still maintains its importance at Highden in that county, was bred in the Court, under the care of his father, one of Queen Elizabeth's Gentlemen Pensioners. He was knighted May 29, 1608; in 1610 he was one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Prince Henry; and in 1617 he accompanied the king to Scotland as Lieutenant of his Gentlemen Pensioners. He was recommended to James I. equally by his sagacity and by a popular jocularity of humour, and became the king's familiar companion and a sort of minor favourite. In 1629, through the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, he was created Baron Goring, and in 1645 was advanced to the Earldom of Norwich, which had in 1630 become extinct on the death of his maternal uncle, Edward Denny, the first and last of his name by whom it was borne. Sir George Goring, Earl of Norwich, died in 1662, leaving the titles to his son, who, like his father, was eminent as a courtier, a wit, a warrior, and a loyalist. Owing to a similarity of name, disposition, and title, their identity has been confused and mixed by many writers.

[68] Edward (or George) Yardley was knighted at Newmarket about this date, with several other persons (see the list

of knights made by James I. at Newmarket at the end of this Book). Mr. Chamberlain in a familiar letter to his friend, Sir Dudley Carleton, says: "Here be two or three ships ready for Virginia, and one Captain Yardley, a mean fellow by way of provision, goes as Governor, and to grace him the more the king knighted him this week at Newmarket, which hath set him up so high, that he flaunts it up and down the street in extraordinary bravery, with fourteen or fifteen liveries after him."

[69] Sir Thomas Stukeley (or Stewkley), knighted by James I. at the Charterhouse, London, May 11, 1603, was son and heir of Sir Hugh Stukeley, of March, county Cambridgeshire, and Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Chamberlayne, Esq., Alderman of London. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Goodwin, of Over, Wichingdon, Bucks, by whom he had, with other issue, Hugh Stukeley, created a baronet June 9, 1627.

[70] Sir Albertus (or Albert) Morton, of Kent, was knighted by James I. at Hampton Court, September 29, 1617. He was elected Scholar at King's College, Cambridge, in 1602. He went to Venice as secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, when ambassador there, and was afterwards Agent to the Court of Savoy, and with the Princes of the Union in Germany, and in 1616 Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia. He was at last, for a short time, one of the Secretaries of State, and died in that post in November, 1625.

In concluding our account of this royal sojourn at Newmarket we must not omit to record that on November 25, Sir John Digby, vice-chamberlain of the king's household, was created by patent Baron Digby of Sherborne, county Dorset.[71]

[71] John, Lord Digby, third son of Sir George Digby (who had been knighted by the Earl of Leicester for his bravery at

the memorable battle of Zutphen) and Abigail, daughter of Sir Arthur Haveningham, Knight, of Ketteringham. He was knighted by James I. at Theobalds in 1605, and was one of the king's carvers and master of the Royal Harriers. Having filled some high situations in the Court of James I., and being twice accredited ambassador to the Court of Spain, he was elevated to the peerage at Newmarket, as above stated. He was subsequently employed upon different embassies, but particularly to the Court of Spain, in 1622, touching the projected alliance between Prince Charles and the Infanta, when he was created Earl of Bristol. In 1624 he had a difference with the Duke of Buckingham, when they mutually impeached each other; from thence he lived retired until the breaking out of the Civil War, in which he at first sided with the Parliament, but afterwards went over to the king, and at last retired into France, where he died in 1652, after having lost his estate. Walpole mentions him in his "Catalogue of Noble Authors;" observing, that "he was not supple enough for a Court, but by far too haughty for popularity. He would have been a suitable minister for Austrian phlegm, or a proper patriot in a Diet which would have been content to proceed by remonstrance and memorial." The earl married Beatrix, daughter of Charles Walcot, Esq., of Walcot, county Salop, and had issue George, his successor; John, who was a general of horse in Lord Hopton's army, and afterwards a secular priest in France; and two daughters.

Mr. Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton from London, December 19, says, "The Commissioners of the States [of Holland] returned this day se'nnight from the voyage to Newmarket, where they had reasonable entertainment, though nothing so much as was first bruited. They had otherwise a journey bad enough, by reason of the weather and the overthrowing of two coaches. And withal, the King, as I hear, forbore not to tell them their own. They were with the Council at Whitehall on Tuesday." *

* Birch MS., 4174, fo. 80.

In December "the States Commissioners"* went to an audience at Newmarket in seven coaches, and were lodged at Cambridge. At this time his Excellency John Baptista Gibliono, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, was the king's guest at the palace. During his Excellency's visit the kitchener was allowed £8 a day for all the ordinary meats for his table, as also for the choicest fowl, fish, baked meats, and other sorts of the best provisions that could be procured for the season of the year. The daily allowance for Canary, Rhenish, claret, and white wine, was 25*s.*; for bread and beer, 12*s.*; for fruit and banqueting stuff, 40*s.*; for oil and butter, 10*s.*; for lemons and oranges, 4*s.*; for herbs of all sorts, 4*s.*; for sugar, 4*s.*; for billets, fagots, and coals, 20*s.*; for light and torches, 6*s.*; and for the use of plate, linen, and other necessaries, attendance, and the hire of three cooks, 40*s.*† December.

To William Pryce one of the gromes of the privie Chamber vpon the Lorde Chamberlaynes warr^t dated the vij^th of February 1618 for the lodging of himselfe and the reste of his Followers at Newmarket from the xiiij^th of November 1618 to the xvi^th of December next following

* Their mission to Newmarket related to the licence exacted by the king from every Dutch fishing-boat that participated in the herring fishery off the English coast, from which a large revenue was derived. This tax was resented, but reluctantly paid, by the Hollanders, and the Commissioners now pleaded that, as "the herring fishery is the greatest support of the Commonwealth, and the only succor and relief of the common people, and that as there were now great trouble amongst them," they hoped that the fishing tax would not be demanded. It continued to be paid until the reign of Charles II. (see Camden's "Annals," continued by Bishop Kennett).

† Pells, "Order and Issue Books: Privy Seals," *sub dato*.

being iiij^{or} weeks and a halfe ~ iiij^{li} x^{s}.—Wardrobe Acc., Treasurer of the Chamber, Series I., box F., bundle 4, m. 804, MS., P.R.O.

To John Coppin & Robt'e Glover twoe yeo'm of his Ma^{ts} Chamber vpon warraunte dated at Whitehall x^{mo} die February 1617 for theire paines and Charges in bringing vp Robt'e Hope and George Armstronge from Newmarket to the Prison of the Gatehouse in Westminster x^{li} (m. 87 *d*).

To Thomas Brooke vpon a warraunte dated at Whitehall ij^{do} Maij 1618 for diverse Sermons preached before his Ma^{ty} in hunting Journeys at Royston, Newmarkett, and Thetford from Mich'as 1616 to the xvijth of March following xxix^{li}. To the said Thomas Brooke vpon like warraunte dated at Whitehall ij^{do} Maij 1618 for diverse Sermons preached before his Ma^{ty} in his hunting Journeys at Royston Newmarket and Thetford from Mich'as to Shrovetide 1617 xix^{li}.—*Ibid.*

To John Heborne, gent vsher and daylie wayter to the Kinges Matie to him for thallowaunce of himselfe and one gent vsher q^{a}rter waiter one yeoman hanger fower groomes of the Chamber twoe groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for ryding wayting and attending on the Kings Ma^{ty} from the Court at Whitehall to Theobalds Royston and Newmarkett and back againe to Whitehall, In all the space of xliiij^{or} daies mens Januar. et Feb. & Mar. 1617 iiij^{xx} v^{li} xvj^{s} (m. 92).

Sir John Finett, Assistant-Master of the Ceremonies, gives the following description of the visit of his Excellency the Ambassador of Savoy, whom he attended to Newmarket:—"The Ambassador of Savoy coming the King at *New Market*, March the second, was by me fetched and conducted (in the Lord Chamberlaines Coach with foure score Horses), in company of Lord Worcester* (Sir James Spence, and Sir William Anstroder), from his Lodging two miles out of Towne there to the Presence Chamber, where he attended till the Lord Chamberlain comming forth of the Kings withdrawing

* Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, an ancestor of the Dukes of Beaufort (see *ante*, p. 132).

Chamber brought him to his Audience there. This done, the Ambassador requested me to move the Prince for the honour to kisse his hand. But it was observed, that the demand should be more seasonably made, before the very instant of presenting it. Thereto the Ambassador replied, that he had no spare time for it between that of his Arrival at Court and his immediate repaire to his Majesty, which excuse admitted, he was immediately introduced to his Highnesse in his owne Lodgings." *

The king left London on January 9, 1619, *en route* to Newmarket, *viâ* Theobalds and Royston, where he arrived soon after safe and sound, when he issued proclamations for the regulation of ale-houses, and for the stricter execution of orders for restraint of killing and eating flesh in Lent and on Fridays. On the 24th it was arranged that the Earl of Oxford [72] and Lord Hunsdon [73] were to tilt in lieu of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham. On the 6th of March his Majesty was laid up "with a severe fit of the stone," from which distemper the Lord Chancellor, then at Newmarket, also suffered, which caused the tilting to be postponed.† On the 12th his Majesty was able to attend to business, and issued another proclamation relating to the building trade, by which order timber was forbidden to be used in the fronts of houses.

1619. January—March.

[72] Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, succeeded his father (who dissipated the noble inheritance of his family) in 1604. He married Lady Diana Cecil, second daughter of

* Finetti Philoxenis, London, 1656, p. 32.

† Tilting and tournaments at Newmarket seem to have been subject to many disappointments.

William, Earl of Exeter, one of the greatest fortunes and most celebrated beauty of the period, but had no issue. His lordship died at Breda, in the Netherlands, where he had the command of a regiment under the Prince of Orange, when the Spaniards captured that stronghold by famine, after a dreadful siege of nearly eleven months, in 1625.

[73] Henry Carey, 4th BARON HUNSDON, who was advanced, June 6, 1621, to the viscounty of Rochfort, and created, May 8, 1627, Earl of Dover. He married, 1st, Judith, daughter of Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart., of Loughton, Sussex, by whom he had four sons and three daughters; and, 2ndly, Mary, daughter of Richard Morris. He died in 1668.

About this time there was keen rivalry between the Dutch and the British East India Companies touching their respective trading monopolies, which continued for years. When the court was at Newmarket both companies employed agents, who were "persons of quality," to advocate the interests of their employés with the king and the ministers as opportunity offered them.

The king and a portion of his court were at Newmarket in the month of January, 1618–19; and on the 22nd the Marquis of Buckingham, in his capacity of Chief Justice in Eyre north of the Trent, wrote thence to Sir Edward Stanhope and others his deputies in the forest of Galtres, informing them that he had received a petition from the inhabitants of Easingwold complaining against a recent enclosure of three hundred acres of that forest, that had been appropriated for the king's deer, which enclosure, the petitioners alleged, was an infringement of their rights and privileges. Nevertheless

he gave instructions that the enclosure should be maintained and used as a fresh pasture for the royal deer during the winter half of the year only. About this time Buckingham was appointed to the office of Lord High Admiral of England. On the 30th, Mr. Chamberlain records that the king was not expected in London for some days: "His Majesty went lately from Newmarket to Sir Nicholas Bacon's to hawk," * and it is probable the royal visitors returned to London the following day.†

On the 15th of February the king returned to Newmarket, with a small retinue; the Prince of Wales forbore the journey, in order to train for running at the ring: his Royal Highness having this year, for the first time, entered the lists as a tilter.‡

February.

The principal tilters, about this date, were the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Montgomery, Lord Clifford, Lord Howard de Walden, Lord

Tilting. James I. *c.* 1619.

* This was, probably, Culford in Suffolk, where the king went hawking with Sir Nicholas in February, 1613-14. It is situated about twelve miles from Newmarket and four from Bury St. Edmunds. It was part of the possessions of the Abbey of Bury, and was granted to Sir Nicholas Bacon, afterwards Lord Keeper, in the 36 Henry VIII. His son, Sir Nicholas, erected a mansion there in 1591, and lived in it for some years. The latter gentleman was the first baronet created, when James I. devised that dignity to raise the wind, which Lord Bacon estimated to yield £66,666 per annum. Baronetcies varied in price from £500 to £2000 each.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. cv., *passim*.

‡ Birch MSS., 4176. The prince evidently trained to some purpose, as Camden says his Royal Highness, on March 12, ran twelve courses at the ring, and got all the praise.

Gerard,[74] Lord Hay,[75] Lord Dingwall,[76] Sir Thomas Somerset,[77] Sir Thomas Howard,[78] Sir Edward Sackville,[79] Sir Robert Rich,[80] Sir Henry Rich,[81] and Sir William Cavendish.[82] Charles, Prince of Wales, was also expert in this sort of horsemanship, in which he first competed about this time.

[74] THOMAS, LORD GERARD, was son and heir of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Attorney-General and Master of the Rolls in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was created Baron Gerard of Gerard Bromley, county Stafford, by James I., in 1603. He died in 1618.

[75] SIR JAMES HAY became 7th Lord Hay, of Yester, on the death of his brother-german, William, the 6th Lord, when he had a charter of the lands and barony of Yester, containing a new creation, with a seat and vote in Parliament. He died in February, 1609–10. The present Marquis of Tweedale is his immediate descendant.

[76] SIR RICHARD PRESTON had been educated at the Scottish court; and, being of an agreeable and winning deportment, he soon grew into the king's special favour, attaining first the honour of knighthood, and ere long the post of Groom of the Bedchamber. He accompanied James VI. to England, and was dignified with the Scotch title of Lord Dingwall in 1607, and the Irish one of Desmond in 1622; the latter title became extinct with him in 1622, but the former devolved on his daughter Elizabeth, who married James, Duke of Ormond.

[77] THE HON. SIR THOMAS SOMERSET, third son of Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, Master of the Horse. He went to Scotland with Sir Charles Percy in 1603, to officially signify to James VI. the death of Queen Elizabeth, and consequently his accession to the English monarchy. He was made a Knight of the Bath with Prince Charles in 1604–5. Like his noble father, he was a witching horse-

man, and excelled in all equestrian feats of this period. He was created Viscount Somerset of Cashel, county Tipperary, December 8, 1626. The preamble to the patent recites that he had performed many acceptable services both to the king himself, his father and mother, especially as a faithful counsellor of his father, as Master of the Horse. His lordship married Eleanor, daughter of David, Viscount Buttevant, and had an only daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried. Lord Somerset of Cashel died in 1651, and with him the title became extinct.

[78] Sir Thomas Howard was second son of the Earl of Suffolk, and ancestor to the present Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire. He was Master of the Horse to Prince Charles; created Lord Howard of Charlton, county Wilts, and Viscount Andover in 1621–2; Knight of the Garter in 1625; Earl of Berkshire 1625–6; High Steward of Oxford University in 1634. Soon after the rebellion broke out in 1642, he was taken prisoner, for no other reason, according to Lord Clarendon, than wishing well to the king. On his release in 1643, he waited on Charles I. at Oxford, when he succeeded the Marquis of Hertford as governor to the Prince of Wales (Charles II.). He attended his Royal Highness in the west in 1645, and subsequently accompanied the prince to Scilly and Jersey. There he parted from the prince, and lived retired in England till the Restoration. He died in 1669, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Though near ninety, he was so hearty that he might have lived several years had he not met with an accidental fall, which occasioned his death, after he had lingered some months.

[79] Sir Edward Sackville, K.B., brother of the Earl of Dorset, made himself notorious with his fatal quarrel with Lord Bruce. He was M.P. for Sussex, and a leading member of the House of Commons. He was one of the chief commanders of the forces sent in 1620 to assist the King of Bohemia at the battle of Prague. In 1621 he was sent ambassador to France, and on his return sworn of the Privy

Council. In 1624 he succeeded his brother as 4th Earl of Dorset; in 1625 was installed K.G.; at the coronation of Charles I. he bore the sword of state; on the king's marriage was instituted lord chamberlain to Queen Henrietta Maria; and till the Rebellion was one of the principal members of the Government, unremitting in his efforts for the king, on which account the greater part of his estate was sequestrated. He died June 17, 1652, at Dorset House, London, and was succeeded by his son Richard.

[80] ROBERT RICH, subsequently 2nd Earl of Warwick, succeeded his father in 1618; was admiral for the Long Parliament, and, during the Commonwealth, enjoyed the full confidence of Cromwell. He died in 1658.

[81] SIR HENRY RICH, K.B., was constituted captain of the King's Guard in 1617; created Baron Kensington in 1622; Earl of Holland in 1624; K.G. in 1625; constable of Windsor Castle and general of the House in 1636. He was negotiator of the projected Spanish and French matches, but flourished chiefly in the reign of Charles I. He was executed for treason against the Commonwealth, March 9, 1648–9.

[82] SIR WILLIAM CAVENDISH, eldest son of William, 1st Earl of Devonshire, knighted March 7, 1606. He was as conspicuous for his learning as his extravagance. So well did he understand foreign languages, that he was appointed to introduce several foreign ambassadors to the English court; and in such expense did he indulge, that, when he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, his house appeared rather like a royal court than a subject's. He married Catherine, daughter of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinlossie, and died June 20, 1628, aged 39.

The death of his queen did not appear to have caused the British Solomon much grief, as, on the 19th of March, "there was a horse-race at Newmarket, at which the king, tarrying

March.

too long, in his return from Newmarket, was forced to put in at an inn at Wichfordbridge, by reason of his being indisposed, and came very late in the night to Royston." * As usual at Newmarket, knights and peers were created, among the latter Lord Scott Buccleuch,[83] Lord Binning,[84] and Viscount of Fenton[85] were advanced to the title of earl.†

[83] Walter Scott, 2nd Baron of Buccleuch, created at Newmarket, March 16, 1619, Lord Whitchester and Eskdale, and Earl of Buccleuch, with remainder to his heirs whatsoever. He was a military character, and had the command of a regiment under the States of Holland, against the Spaniards. He married Lady Mary Hay, daughter of Francis, Earl of Erroll. He died in 1633.

[84] Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Priestfield, eldest son of Sir Thomas Hamilton, who obtained a charter for Balbyn, Drumcairn, and Priestfield, in the year 1597, and Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot, of Trabroun, was born in 1563. He studied the law in France, was admitted advocate in 1587, and soon distinguished himself at the bar; and was appointed Lord of Session in 1592, by the title of Lord Drumcairn. He was subsequently one of the commissioners of the Treasury of Exchequer, called *Octavians*, and king's advocate. In 1604 he was nominated a commissioner by Parliament to treat of a union with England. In 1612 he was received Lord-Clerk-Register of Scotland; and in the same year succeeded Sir Alexander Hay as Secretary of State. He was elevated to

* The queen's jewels were valued at £400,000; her plate at £90,000; her ready coin consisted of 80,000 Jacobus-pieces, besides cloth of gold and silver, and silks and linen "for quality and quantity beyond any prince in Europe." By her death the king saved £60,000, the annual cost of her household, servants, and stables, besides her jointure of £13,000 (Birch MS., 4174).

† Nichols, "Progress of King James," vol. iii., p. 532; Camden's "Annals;" Goodman's "Court of James I.," vol. ii., p. 186.

the peerage November 30, 1613, as LORD BINNING, was appointed Lord-President of the Court of Session in 1616, and created Earl of Melrose at Newmarket, March 20, 1619. His lordship, with the approbation of the Crown, after the death of Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington, changed the title of Earl of Melrose for that of Earl of Haddington, by patent dated August 17, 1627, but with the precedence of the original patent. This nobleman acquired, by the lucrative offices he enjoyed, one of the largest fortunes of his time, which was considerably augmented by the discovery of valuable mines upon his estates. He died in 1637.

[85] Sir Thomas Erskine—second son of Sir Alexander Erskine, of Gogar, the second son of John, 5th Lord Erskine, and Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Argyll—was born in 1586, the same year with James VI., was educated with the king from childhood, and came thereby to have a great share in the royal favour. The king bestowed on him many marks of his special esteem, and appointed him one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber in 1595. He had charters of Mitchellis, Eastertown, and Westertown, in the county Kincardine, October 17, 1494; of Windingtown and Windingtown Hall, June 1, 1598; and of Easterrow, in Perthshire, January 15, 1598–9. He had the good fortune to be one of the happy instruments in the rescue of the king from the treasonable attempt of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, of Perth, August 5, 1600, having with his own hand killed the latter. For this signal service he had the third part of the lordship of Dirleton, belonging to Gowrie, conferred on him by charter, dated November 15, 1600; and in warrandice thereof the king's barony of Corritown, in Stirlingshire. In that charter he is designated eldest lawful son of the deceased Alexander Erskine, Master of Marr. He accompanied the Duke of Lennox in his embassy to France in July, 1601. Attending King James to England, he was the same year constituted Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in the room of Sir Walter Raleigh—a preferment which made him very unpopular in England. He was created

Viscount Fentown, being the first raised to that degree of the nobility in Scotland, May 18, 1606; and advanced to the dignity of Earl of Kellie, at Newmarket, March 12, 1619; had charters of Ryecroft, July 16, 1622; and the barony of Restinsrioth, May 13, 1624; was nominated a Knight of the Garter, but was not installed in the order; and died at London, June 12, 1639, in the seventy-third year of his age. His male line failed in 1829, when the titles went to John Francis Miller Erskine, 7th Earl of Mar.

At the end of March the court returned to London, where the Council were busily engaged investigating a terrible charge against one Matthew Mason, who promulgated a treasonable document concerning the alleged "miraculous appearance at Newmarket of a sword and hand, rising out of the ground and striking at the king, who went to see it, and has kept his bed ever since." *

Preparatory to the king's visit in December, Sir Robert Vernon was empowered to take fifty brace of partridges and fifty brace of hares, in any part of the realm he chose, without let or hindrance, yearly, and turn them down at Newmarket, or wheresoever the king might appoint, for the preservation of the game. Thus, when his Majesty arrived here on December 7, there was doubtless a fair supply of game in the New Warren and its sacred circuit of ten miles to give sport with the land-hawks and the royal harriers. This, however, was not to be, owing to a heavy fall of snow, which drove the king to Theobalds, where the court sojourned for some weeks.†

December.

His Excellency Baron von Denow, "sent to us

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cv., cvi., and cvii., *passim*. † Ibid., vol. iii.

in embassage from our dearest son-in-law, the Elector Palatine," was the king's guest at Newmarket in December, when his expenses were somewhat similar to those of Gabilione, and call for no comment.

Sir John Finett, Assistant-Master of the Ceremonies, gives the following description of Baron von Denow's visit to Newmarket:—

"The Barn of Denow eimployed to his Majestie from the Prince Palatine, soone after the Crown and title of King of Bohemia was conferred on him by the Election of those States, had had after his Arrivall here two or three private Audiences with publique notice or stile of King given him by his Majisty. He was after wards appointed to follow the King to Newmarket, whither he came on the 27. of *January*, with no other company or attendance but Master *Williams* (Agent here for the affaires of that King, or rather for the Queen, our Kings only Sister,) and his own few followers. (Sir *Lewes Lewkner*, then remaining at London, and expecting the Arrival of a Spanish Ambassador *Don Diego Sarmiento*, new made *Conde de Gondemar*.) Some occasions at the same time having drawn me to Newmarket, I received there the Lord Chamberlaines command to do the Ambassador the service of my place; so I waited on him to his first Audience there, when my Lord Marquis of Buckingham, the Earl of Montgomery, the Lords Viscounts of Purbeck [86] and Doncaster,[87] the Lord *Gray*,[88] and divers others of his Majisties better sort of Servants, did him the honour on foot to come to his Inn, (His Majesties Coach walking by) & accompany him thence on foot to the Court, where his Majisty receiving him in the withdrawing Chamber, took him instantly with him into his Inner Lodgings, where (after an hour and an halfes conference) he was reconducted by all the Lords mentioned on foot as before to his Lodging. From that time he had his access to Court, and to his Majesties Presence as a Domestique without Ceremony, and this by the Kings own Signification of his Pleasure to me to that purpose. From

Newmarket he went along with his Majesty to Royston, Theobalds, London, and with my continuall attendance." *

[86] Sir John Villiers, Knight, elder brother of James I.'s celebrated favourite George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, was elevated to the peerage July 19, 1619, as Baron Villiers, of Stoke, county Buckinghamshire, and VISCOUNT PURBECK, county Dorset. He was Master of the Wardrobe to Charles, Prince of Wales. He married, first, Frances, daughter of Chief Justice (Sir Edward) Coke, a lady who eloped from him, in 1621, with Sir Robert Howard, and after her misconduct assumed the name of Wright, and gave birth, privately, to a son, who also bore that surname. She died in the garrison of Charles I., at Oxford, in 1645, and was buried in St. Mary's church. He married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Singsby, of Kippax, county York, but had no issue. Viscount Purbeck died in 1657, when the Barony of Villiers, of Stoke, and the Viscounty of Purbeck became extinct.

[87] Among the natives of Scotland who accompanied James I. into England was a gillie of the name of James Hay, of whom Sir Anthony Weldon has left a very faithful but uncomplimentary account. This celebrated favourite shared with the king many of the good things derived "by the new conquest." By the influence of his royal master he obtained Honora, daughter and heiress of Edward, Lord Denny, in marriage, had a grant of the name and title of Lord Hay, with precedence next to barons of England, but no place or voice in Parliament. On June 29, 1615, he was, however, advanced to the dignity of a baron of the realm, under the title of Lord Hay, of Langley, county York, without any solemn investiture, and thereby (*more Scotia*) saved the fees incident to the creation, his lordship being the first ever so created, the lawyers then declaring that the delivery of letters patent was sufficient without any ceremony. He was next year sent ambassador to the court of France. In March, 1617, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and created VISCOUNT DON-

* "Philoxenis," p. 61.

CASTER, July 5, 1618, preparatory to his proceeding upon an embassy to Germany. In 1622 he was again employed as ambassador in France, and was advanced on September 13 in that year to the Earldom of Carlisle. Besides all these high honours and trusts, he was Master of the Great Wardrobe, Gentleman of the Robes to James I., and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter. He was also first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I. "The extravagancy of his voluptuousness," says Lodge, "hath probably preserved his character from oblivion, particularly in the invention of what are called Ante Suppers; the manner of which, saieth Osborne, in his 'Memoirs,' was to have the board covered, at the first entrance of his guests, with dishes as high as a tall man could well reach, filled with the choicest cold viands that could be procured, which, as soon as the company was seated, were instantly removed to make room for an equally numerous service of hot meats. Notwithstanding these expensive absurdities, he left a very large fortune, partly derived from his marriage with the heiress of the Lord Denny, but more from the king's unlimited bounty." After the decease of his first wife, he married, secondly, the Lady Lucy Percy, youngest daughter of Henry, Earl of Northumberland. He died, wallowing in wealth, April 25, 1636, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, James Hay, 2nd Earl of Carlisle, who married Lady Margaret Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, but died *s. p.* in 1660, when all his honours became extinct.

[88] "Lord Gray." There being so many noblemen to whom this title applies, it is safer not to conjecture, in the absence of positive knowledge, his lordship's identity.

To John Cosnolde gentleman Vsher daily wayter to his Matie for ryding wayting and attending in his Ma^ts^ servyce from Whitehall to Theobalds Roiston and Newmarkett, and so backe to Greenwich by the space of iiij^xx^ix^en^ dayes in the moneths of February March Aprill and May 1618 and 1619 Cxiiij^li^ iij^s^ iiij^d^ (m. 100) . . . To Thomas Footes gentleman Vsher and daily waiter to his Matie for the allowaunce of him-

selfe one gentleman vsher q'rter wayter one yoeman hanger, two gromes of the wardrobe one yoeman vsher and one grome porter for ryding wayting and attending in his Maties service from Whitehall to Newmarkett and backe agayne to Whitehall by the space of eighte and forty dayes in the monthes of November and December 1619 lxj^li^ xij^s^ (m. 100 *d*.).—"Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household," MS., P.R.O.

To Thomas Vnderhill, Robert Ramsey, and Richarde Pettooke three of his Maties Trompetto^rs^ for ryding waiting and attending on his Matie in his journey from Whitehall the xv^th^ of February 1618 to Newmarkett and backe againe the xix^th^ of Aprill next following being lxiij dayes at ij^s^ the peece ℔ diem by vertue of his Maties warr^t^ dormaunte and a bill thereof signed by the Lorde Chamberleyne xviij^li^ xviij^s^.—*Ibid.*, m. 104 . . .

To Richard Connyngesby Knight dayly wayter to his Matie for thallowaunce of himselfe etc. for making ready with riche stuffe at Newmarkett against xp'mas etc.—*Ibid.*, m. 116 *d*.

A peñcon of ij^s^ vj^d^ ℔ diem for Wm Marsten during his life in consideracon of breeding keeping & feeding the Fowle about Newmarkett, preured by Sr Thomas Lake.—Docquet-Book, April, 1615, MS., P.R.O.

1620. January—February.

The last day of January, 1620, saw the king and court once more located at Newmarket Palace, where were celebrated divers and sundry festivities, intermingled with public business, until about the end of February, when this visit terminated. The time passed merrily at Newmarket, in tilting, masques, etc. The king and the Prince of Wales went "shroving" to Sir John Crofts, at Saxham,* where Sir Robert Carr killed a

* Saxham (or more properly Saxham Parva) is a parish with a station one mile north from the village, on the Bury and Newmarket branch of

gentleman named Maxwell in a duel, and was pardoned at the earnest request of the prince. The Ambassador of the Palatine of Bohemia was among the royal guests at the palace during this sojourn at Newmarket.*

Mr. Chamberlain gives the following version of these incidents to Sir Dudley Carleton :—

"They pass the time merrily at Newmarket, and the running Masque rages all over the Country where

the Great Eastern Railway, 3¾ miles from Bury St. Edmunds, and 79 from London. The Marquis of Bristol, who is lord of the manor, and T. R. Mills, Esq., are the principal landowners. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Saxham was held by John Cavendish, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was murdered by Wat Tyler's mob during the insurrection at that time. It subsequently was held by the ancient family of Crofts, who had their seat here, where they flourished in great esteem ; several of them were knights, and of them Sir Thomas Crofts was High Sheriff of Suffolk in the thirty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was the father of Sir John Crofts, knighted in Ireland in 1599, who married Sir Robert Shirley's sister, contemporarily described as "niece to the Lady Cheney" (Davy MS., Col. Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred, Vol. i. Saxham Parva, fo. 4 [20]), and grandfather of William Crofts, descended by females from the 1st Lord Wentworth, of Nettlested, as also from the Montacutes, Earls of Salisbury, and Nevils, Earls of Westmorland. This William Crofts, having been brought up in the court of England from his youth, became Gentleman of the Horse to the Duke of York, Captain of the Guard to the queen-mother, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. All which places he executed with such approbation, that he was at length sent ambassador to Poland, where he executed his mission so well, that he was, for his good services, advanced to the peerage, by the title of Lord Crofts of Saxham. His lordship married, 1st, Dorothy, widow of Sir John Hobart, Bart. ; and 2ndly, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord William Spencer, of Wormleighton ; but having no issue, the Barony of Crofts became, at his lordship's decease in 1677, extinct. Lord Crofts was a frequent *habitué* at Newmarket, and had the pleasure of frequently entering Charles II. and his jovial circle at Little Saxham, where a "grand apartment" was specially erected for the reception of the king and his hard-drinking companions. This building was pulled down in 1771, though it was said to have appeared as sound then as when it was first erected.

* Cofferers Accs., Series III., box E., rot. *s. d.*

there be fit subjects to entertain it, as lately they have been at Sir John Crofts near Bury, and in requital those Ladies have invited them to a Masque of their own invention, all those fair sisters* being summoned for the purpose, so that on Thursday next the King, Prince, and all the Court go thither a Shroving. Some ten or twelve days since there fell out an unlucky accident by reason of a quarrel and challenge betwixt two Scotsmen, Sir Robert Kerr,† near about the Prince, and [Charles] Maxwell, brother of him of the Bedchamber, who was left dead in the field, though he held himself the braver man upon the success of having killed one before in Scotland and another in France. But the King says, though he pardoned him then, and the French King after, yet it seems that God would not pardon him now. Upon the Prince's humble and earnest entreaty, assisted by the Duke of Lennox and Marquis of Hamilton, together with the Coroner's Inquest finding it 'Manslaughter,' the King is pleased to remit the offence; and Ker be restored to former favour, the rather for that he was earnestly urged, and could not by any reasonable means avoid it. The quarrel occurred at Sir Thomas Murray's table, upon some speech Ker used touching the deportment

January.

* Of "those fair sisters," Anne was Lady Wentworth, and Dorothy was the wife of Sir John Bennet, and mother of John, 1st Lord Ossulston, and Henry, 1st Earl of Arlington. Another sister was Cecily, reputed mistress of the Prince of Wales, subsequently a maid of honour to Queen Henrietta Maria. Charles I. gave her a pension of £500 a year. An interesting account of the costumes provided by the prince for this masque will be found in the accounts of his Royal Highness's wardrobe, preserved in the Public Record Office.

† Created Earl of Ancrum in 1633.—Nichols, vol. ii., p. 514.

of Mons. Lugnes, the French King's Favourite; which the other would interpret to be meant for somebody here at home, and threatened he would force him to confess it; which *outrecuidance* it seems preceded to the success aforesaid."

The king seems to have governed the nation by virtue of proclamations, which continued to be issued *ad lib.*, and at this time to be utterly ignored by those to whom they appealed.*

On the 4th of November, the king set out from London for Theobalds, Royston, and Newmarket, "to stay till Christmas." He does not appear to have reached Newmarket before the 10th of that month, and probably sojourned there until about the middle of December, when Chief Justice Montagu[89] arrived at the palace, "to be ennobled and receive the Treasurership,"† for which appointment he gave Buckingham a bribe of £20,000. In the meantime Sir Henry Carey[90] was created Viscount Falkland, and Sir Henry Constable,[91] Baron Constable and Viscount Dunbar in the peerage of Scotland, by patents, dated respectively Newmarket, November 10 and 14, 1620.‡

November.

To Thomas Sackvile als Footes Gent vsher daily wayter to his Matie for thallowaunce of him selfe one yeoman vsher three yeoman hangers twoe groomes of the wardrobe and one groome porter for making ready at Newmarkett for Bohemian Ambassador and at Sir John Croftes house for the King and

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cxii., *passim*.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxviii. Created Viscount Mandevil. See Bishop Goodman's "Court of James I.," and Howell's Letters, p. 116.

‡ Nichols' "Progress," vol. iii., pp. 628, 629.

for a Maske there viij daies Menss. Janur et ffebr 1619[-20] etc. (m. 115 *d*).

To William Holmes in the behalfe of diverse Preachers for the Sermons preached before his Ma^ty^ in his hunting Journeys at Royston Hinchinbrooke and Newmarkett from the first of October 1618 to the first of March following by warraunte of the xxv^th^ of June 1620 lxx^li^ (m. 121 *d*).

To Sir Robert Vernon keeper of his Ma^ts^ house at Newmarkete for hire of a Carte to carry away soile and rubbish by reason of building there by warraunte of the iiij^th^ of November 1620 lxvj^s^ viij^d^ (m. 122 *d*).—Wardrobe Accs., bundle 4, m. 100.

For xiij dz di of gold open lace for a skie coullor masking suite sent to Newmarket at vij^s^ pr iiij^li^ xiiij^s^ vj^d^.—Account of Viscount Purbeck, Master of the Wardrobe to the high and mightie Prince Charles, Prince of Wales, etc., fo. 21, MS., P.R.O.

[89] Henry Montagu, Baron Kimbolton, Viscount Mandevil, and Earl of Manchester, was grandson of Edward Montagu, of Huntington, Northamptonshire, Speaker of the House of Commons *temp.* Henry VIII., Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas *temp.* Queen Mary, being the third son of Edward, his eldest son, who was seated at Broughton, Northamptonshire, and sheriff of that county and its representative in Parliament, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Harington, of Exton, in the county of Rutland. He was born at Broughton about 1553, and showed so much intelligence that even at school it was prognosticated "that he would raise himself above the rest of his family." On November 16, 1616, he was selected to succeed Sir Edward Coke as Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. He is said to have procured this appointment by consenting to give the Duke of Buckingham's nominee the clerkship of the Court of King's Bench, worth £4000 a year, which Coke, in whose gift it was, refused to part with, although by doing so he might have retained his office. Montagu did not long rest satisfied with the place of Chief Justice. He aimed still

higher, and after sitting in the judicial seat for four years he succeeded in obtaining the more elevated and lucrative post of Lord Treasurer at Newmarket, as above stated. When the king was at Newmarket the courtiers considered it a favourable time to obtain favours; and many posts, honours, and emoluments were secured on those occasions. The Countess of Buckingham, who had great influence over her all-powerful son, the king's favourite minister, is reported to have been the actual dispenser of the immense patronage which ostensibly flowed from his hands. She had no objection to a bribe. Montagu is said to have obtained the office of Lord Treasurer at her hands for the large sum of £20,000. If so, it proved to be an expensive bribe, as Montagu was deprived of the treasurership during the following year. The white staff had been conferred on him at Newmarket, where there was a great scarcity of timber. A friend, alluding to these circumstances, pleasantly inquired of the earl, "if wood were not extremely dear at Newmarket." One of the charges against Buckingham on his impeachment was the receipt of this money; but his answer alleged that it was a voluntary loan to the king, and that he did not receive a penny of it, which, of course, nobody believed. The venality of this job was most flagrant, particularly as Montagu was deprived of the office by Buckingham, on the 13th of the following October, when the unfortunate Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, by the favourite's interest, was named his successor. It was ever considered a place of great profit, and when Montagu was asked what it might be worth per annum, he answered, "Some thousands of pounds to him who after death would go instantly to heaven; twice as much to him who would go to purgatory; and a *memo scit.* to him who would venture to a worse place." On his removal from the treasurership he was but poorly compensated for his loss by being made Lord President of the Council. In this office he remained for the rest of James's reign, and for the first three years of Charles I.'s, when he exchanged it for that of Lord Privy Seal, which he enjoyed for the rest of his life. King Charles, in the first year of his reign, on February 5,

1626, created him Earl of Manchester. He was an active minister of the Crown, and was a frequent attendant upon the court during the sojourns of royalty at Newmarket. He did not live to witness the fatal termination of Charles I.'s career, but died November 7, 1642, shortly after the commencement of the hostilities between the royalists and the Parliamentary forces. He had nearly attained his eightieth year, and showed as much activity and sagacity in business as at any former period of his life. His eldest son and successor, Edward Montagu, a Cromwellian lord during the Interregnum, became lord chamberlain to the household of Charles II. He died May 5, 1671, and George I. gave his grandson a dukedom in 1719, which has been enjoyed by his descendants ever since.

[90] Sir Henry Carey, only son and successor of Sir Edward Carey, Knight, of Berkhampstead, and Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knevett, and widow of Henry, Lord Paget; born at Aldenham, Herts; educated at Exeter College, Oxford; knighted by the Earl of Essex in Ireland in 1599. He was united with his father in the office of Master of the Jewel-house; and was one of the judges of the tilt on the king's day, 1615, 1616, 1618, and 1622. He was M.P. for Hertfordshire in the only four Parliaments held from 1602 to 1620, and created a Scottish peer by the title of Viscount Falkland, at Newmarket, November 10, 1620, as above mentioned. He was Lord-Deputy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629, and died in September, 1633, in consequence of breaking a leg when the stand in Theobalds Park collapsed. Lord Falkland is in several authorities styled K.B., with much confusion between the creations of Henry and Charles, Princes of Wales. It is remarkable that on both these occasions a Sir Henry Carey was so created, but at the former it was Lord Hunsdon's eldest son, afterwards created Earl of Dover; and at the latter Sir Robert Carey's eldest son, who succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Monmouth. His lordship, who was a man of letters, wrote a History of Edward II., and was remarkable for an invention to prevent the counterfeit of his signature—that

of artfully concealing within the writing the successive years of his age. Plantagenet Pierrepoint Carey, 11th and present Viscount Falkland, now represents this Newmarket creation.

[91] SIR HENRY CONSTABLE, of Burton Constable and Halsham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the representative of a very ancient and eminent family, was knighted by James I. at the Tower of London, March 14, 1603–4. He succeeded his father in 1608; "and," says Sir Bernard Burke (a weak authority), "being a man of parts and learning, highly esteemed by James VI. (*sic*), was created a peer of Scotland, by the title of VISCOUNT OF DUNBAR, and Lord Constable by patent dated at Newmarket, 14 November, 1620, to him and his heirs male, bearing the name and arms of Constable;" while Nichols asserts that "his peerage, there is no doubt, was purchased, as he appears to have had no other influence about the court than that his wealth might produce." He married Mary, second daughter of Sir John Tufton, Bart., of Hothfield, county Kent, and sister of Nicholas, 1st Earl of Thanet, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters. He died in 1645. The title became dormant *circa* 1714, no heir male general having appeared to claim it ever since. The estates are now in the possession of Sir Thomas Aston Clifford-Constable, Bart., of Tixall, county Stafford.

On November 8, 1621, the newsmongers in the metropolis announced that the "king has gone to Newmarket," and on the 17th that "he stayed longer than he intended at Royston, Buckingham being ill, but is now at Newmarket;" and on the 1st of December they had the audacity to assert that "his Majestys tarrying at Newmarket amid so much business causes surprise." "It is much marvayled," writes Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, "that so much business being now on foot both at home and a broade, the King should kepe

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still at Newmarket, when by reason of the fowle Weather and Wayes, he can take so great pleasure, nor have any store of Companie: The Lord Marquis of Buckingham, his Lady, and his mother the Countesse with the Lady of Purbecke, being all of note, that I can heere, are about him."* This bad and rebellious example was followed by the House of Commons, which presumed to petition the king and to invite his attention to the state of public affairs. Never was such a consternation known at Newmarket Palace as on the 3rd of December, when a Committee of the House of Commons arrived, and presented their petition and remonstrance to the king. "Twelve of the Lower House had a cold journey to Newmarket, to present their remonstrance and Petition to the King; which were a kind of answer to the King's letter, that did a little daunt them at first, but they soon recovered their spirits. The Messengers came back on Thursday, and yesterday made their relation to the House. It seems they had a favourable reception, and the King played with them in calling for stools 'for the Ambassadors to sit down;' but in conclusion he read the Remonstrance, but would not look at the Petition, and for answer returned his pleasure in writing, which was twice read yesterday in the House. But sure there is not that good understanding between the King and them that were to be wished, whilst he is apprehensive of the least point that may seem to touch his Prerogative, and they so jealous and careful to preserve their Privileges. And withall it is thought some privy

* Birch MSS., 4174, fo. 18, 19.

whisperers and tale-bearers do misinform his Majesty, and so animate him to the prejudice of the House. This afternoon they are to have a Conference with the Lords, where it is thought the Lord Digby will relate to them somewhat touching the Palatinate, and how matters stand there since his coming hence." *

James, in a letter to the Speaker, admonished him for allowing those "fiery spirits to meddle with matters far beyond their capacity, and intrenching upon the prerogative." He enjoined him not to allow any further meddling with State mysteries. He justified his action in committing Sir Edward Sandys, M.P., for "misdemeanors in Parliament," and considered himself free to punish any such, and that he would continue to punish all insolence in Parliament. But the faithful Commons did not feel the force of this wisdom, although some of them thanked God they lived under so benign a prince, and promised to be good and dutiful subjects for the future. † His Majesty was graciously pleased to return to London soon after, when he was amazed to find that, on the eve of the Christmas recess, his faithful Commons had entered the following protestation on their Journals: "Whereas the liberties and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, that arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the State, and defence of the realm and the Church of England, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, are proper subjects

* Chamberlain to Carleton, London, December 15, 1621.
† State Papers, Dom., vol. cxxvi., *passim.*

of counsel and debate in Parliament; that in the handling of these businesses every member hath and ought to have freedom of speech; that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty to treat of those matters in such order as they think proper; that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the House itself) concerning any bill, speaking, or reasoning touching Parliament matters; and if any be complained for anything said or done in Parliament, the same to be showed by assent of the Commons, before the king give credence to any private information." This revived the former jealousy and irritation in the breast of James. Sending for the Journals, he tore out with his own hand the obnoxious protestation in the presence of his Council, and a few days later dissolved the Parliament.*

To Sr Roberte Vernon Knight keeper of Newmarkett house by warr^t^ dated v^to^ Novembris 1621, for broomes by him prouyeded and bought for one yeare ended at Mychās 1621, xiij^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^; more to him for allowaunce of his lodging being putt out of the same in Nouember 1620, by warr^t^ dated

* Rushworth's "Historical Collections," vol. i., pp. 40-56. On December 19 Parliament was adjourned by Royal Commission in the House of Lords. The Commons were not present, and, when that fact was announced, replied that they would adjourn themselves. "The same day his Majesty rode by coach to Theobalds to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to return till towards Easter. After dinner, ryding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled and cast his Majestie into the New River, where the ice brake: he fell in, so that nothing but his boots were seen: Sir Richard Young was next, who alighted, went to the water, and pulled him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His Majestie rid back to Theobalds, went into a warme bed, and, as we heere, is well, which God continue."—Ellis, "Original Letters," vol. iii., p. 117.

vij^mo Aprilis 1621, vj^li.—Accs. Treasurer of the Chamber, m. 137.

To John Glover one of the Knight Marshalls Men vpon Councells warr^t dated at Whitehall xv^to die December 1621, bringing one Whitegniste prisoner from Newmarkett to Whitehall l^s.—*Ibid.*, m. 146.

On the 27th of January, 1622, we find the king employed at Newmarket in writing one of those sapient epistles, for which he was celebrated, to the Bishop of Durham in favour of Sir Richard Graham,[92] who was endeavouring to reform vice in Cumberland, where he lived, by building a church, educating the young, and many other good deeds, which entitled him to the presentation of some fat livings in that county; and by royal will and favour, he and his heirs were ordered henceforth to enjoy the same for ever. The court remained at Newmarket until the end of February, and in the interval the king, accompanied by his courtiers as usual, went a-shroving to Sir John Croft's, whose daughter Cecilia then was on intimate terms with the Prince of Wales, and reported to be secretly married to his father.* 1622. January.

The following day (being Ash Wednesday) Bishop Andrewes preached before the king and court.†

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cxxvii., *passim.*

† This sermon, which is printed in the Bishop's "XCVI. Sermons," was from text Matthew vi. 16, "Of Repentance and Fasting," is there said to have been delivered at Whitehall, but the date, and the king being at Newmarket, proves it was delivered at the latter place. Bishop Andrewes was held in high esteem by James I., who not only gave him the preference to all other divines as a preacher, but also chose him to vindicate the royal prerogative against his subjects. The king likewise requested Andrewes to reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, and between James and his

By patents dated Newmarket, February 2, 1621-2, William Crichton, 7th Lord Crichton, of Sanquhar,[93] was advanced to the title of Viscount Air; and Sir Andrew Kerr (or Carr), of Fernihurst, was created Lord Jedburgh[94] in the peerage of Scotland.*

[92] Sir Richard Graham, Knight, Gentleman of the Horse to James I., was created a baronet, March, 1629, by the style of Sir Richard Graham, of Esk, county Cumberland. He purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddell, in the same county, of Francis, Earl of Cumberland. Sir Richard subsequently distinguished himself under the royal banner, particularly at Edgehill, where he was severely wounded, and lay among the slain for an entire night. As we have frequently seen, he was an *habitué* at Newmarket, and a prominent patron of the turf. Early in the seventeenth century he married Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Musgrave, of Cumcatch, Cumberland, and "having," says Hutchinson, "took, in 1648, a solemn adieu of the king in the Isle of Wight," he died in 1653. His descendant, the present Sir Richard Graham, Bart., member of the Jockey Club, worthily represents his valiant predecessor.

[93] William Crichton, 7th LORD CRICHTON of SANQUHAR, succeeded to that title on the death of his cousin-german Robert, the 6th lord, who, in a fencing-match with one John Turner, a master of that art, was deprived of an eye. The loss, which he confessedly brought upon himself, induced him in May, 1612, to hire two of his distinguished

favourite "preacher for the hunting journeys" the controversional work "Tortura Torti" was elaborated at Newmarket. Andrewes was born at London in 1555; educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth; ditto and sporting preacher to James I.; appointed Bishop of Chichester, November 3, 1605; translated to Ely, September 22, 1609; nominated to the Privy Council, and attended James in his progress to Scotland, in 1617; translated to Winchester, February 18, 1618; *ob.* September 25, 1626, *æt.* 71.

* Nichols, "Progress of James I.," vol. iv. page 752.

countrymen, Gray and Carlisle, to assassinate the unfortunate English swordsman. For this atrocious act he was tried at the bar of the King's Bench in Westminster, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. Great interest was made to procure his pardon, but in vain, and he was hung June 29, 1612, on a gibbet erected in Great Palace Yard, before the gates of Westminster Hall. William, 7th Lord Crichton, who was advanced to the title of Viscount Air, at Newmarket, February 2, 1622, entertained James I. at Sanquhar Castle, in July, 1617, during the royal progress in Scotland. In addition to the viscounty conferred upon this Scot, he was further advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dumfries, when Charles I. visited Scotland in 1633, by patent dated Douglas, June 12, in that year. John Patrick Crichton Stuart, K.T., LL.D., the present Marquis of Bute, is the 8th Earl of Dumfries and Viscount Air, having succeeded his maternal great-grandfather in the latter titles, and now represents this Newmarket creation.

[91] LORD JEDBURGH was half-brother of the deposed favourite, Robert, Earl of Somerset, and the only son and heir of Sir Thomas Kerr (or Carr), of Fernihurst, by his first marriage. Sir Andrew had been a Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber in Scotland, having been appointed to that office in 1591. He was succeeded by his son James, with whose son Robert the 3rd lord, the male line of the eldest branch of the family terminated in 1692. This title then devolved, pursuant to an entail made in 1670, on William, Lord Newbottle, son and heir-apparent of Robert, 4th earl, and afterwards Marquess of Lothian, Lord Jedburgh's nearest heir male, and Schomberg-Henry, the 9th and present Marquess of Lothian, now represents this Newmarket creation.

Another royal visit to Newmarket occurred in the month of November, the court having left Hampton Court about October 5, and, without passing through London, the royal party pro- **1622. November.**

ceeded, *viâ* Theobalds and Royston, *en route* to head-quarters. While tarrying at Theobalds, "where there was a great court and much to be done," the king pricked the sheriffs for the coming year, in such haste that the business had to be almost done over again after his arrival at Newmarket. In the meantime William Hawkins wrote from Newmarket, November 12, to the authorities in London, to inquire whether all the commissions for preserving the game within sixteen miles of Royston had passed the Seal; poaching on the royal preserves appears to have been so excessive that extraordinary measures were about to be made to diminish such abuses. It seems the king arrived at Newmarket about the 16th of this month, as Buckingham wrote thence, under this date, to Sir Edward Conway, enjoining him to promulgate as widely as possible *ex parte* reasons for the surrender of Manheim (the Khartoum of the period), and that the king would be glad for Conway to be at Newmarket to meet the Dutch Commissioners, "and to bring his hawk with him."

A week later a proclamation was issued, commanding noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, excepting the Privy Council and officers of the king or prince, to repair to their mansion houses in the country, to attend their services, and keep hospitality, according to the ancient and laudable custom of England, on pain of being disabled from serving the king, and punished for contempt. This Newmarket ukase compelled many noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, "that had come to town to nestle with their families, to pack off

again, as they dare not incur the penalty."* It was bad for trade in London, where "the winter was so severe" that from 270 to 280 of the inhabitants died weekly; Lord Abergavenny, Sir William Killigrew, Sir George Curson, and Sir Francis Egiock were, among others, carried off by the cold. Partly owing to the inclemency of the weather, the States Commissioners did not go to Newmarket when expected; but the East India and Muscovy merchants were there to meet them in solemn council with the king. On the journey from London to Newmarket the latter guild of adventurers "were robbed of a bag containing their papers and £200 in money."† As was usual here, several persons were knighted during this royal sojourn.‡ The king remained at Newmarket some few days early in the following month, "much troubled with the gout in his arms and legs."§

William Fennor, a satirist of the period, animadverting on the evil results of gaming, alludes to the extortion of the money-lenders, who usually ruined their clients, and eventually left them no resource but the highway. Hence, he says, Newmarket Heath was so full of highwaymen "that poor Countrie people cannot passe quietly to the Cottages, but some Gentlemen

* Hume says James's object in dispersing the nobility to their country seats was to prevent them indulging in politics. "But the contrary effect soon followed: the riches amassed during their residence at home rendered them independent; the influence acquired by hospitality made them formidable; they would not be led by the court; they could not be driven: thus the system of the English government received a total and sudden alteration in the course of less than forty years."—"Hist. Eng.," Ap. IV.

† State Papers, Dom., vol. cxxxiv., *passim*.

‡ See the chronological list at end of this book.

§ State Papers, Dom., vol. cxxxiv., *passim*.

will borrow all the money they have," which made Tyburn and Wapping "have so many hangers-on." He adds that when these young gallants had effected a robbery on Newmarket Heath, in case the hue and cry came too hotly after them, they posted to London, and there got themselves arrested for a small debt, and by lying in prison "until the matter cools," escaped detection, "for who would look into such a place for such offendors?" *

The manuscript accounts of Sir Richard Graham, as Gentleman of the Horse† to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, contain a list of the horses, and other interesting particulars relating to the royal stud, the chase, and the turf, at this period. Reference is also made to the personal disbursements of the Master of the Horse, in connection with this office, which, among other matters, exhibit the duke losing £100 to Lord Salisbury‡ on a race at Newmarket; and other betting transactions are similarly recorded. The king's two jockeys-in-ordinary, or, as they are termed,

c. 1622.

* "The Competers Common-Wealth," etc.: Lond. 1617. 4s. Highwaymen were formerly called "Saint Nicholas' clerks."—See notes by Bishop Warburton and Mr. Steevens on the First Part of "King Henry the Fourth," A. ii. s. 1.

† It seems he subsequently resigned the Mastership of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, that post having been held by Baltazar Gerbier, as appears by the following passage in the Hist. Preface to Carleton's Letters (xxviij): "The Lord Dorchester had the direction of the negociation for a peace with the court of Madrid; the first overtures of which had been carried on, between Reubens the painter, by a private commission from the Infanta at Brussels, and Baltazar Gerbier, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, before the assassination of the latter."

‡ William, 2nd Earl of Salisbury.

"riders for the races," were Thomas Freman and John Prichard. Their wages are not given; they were, however, entitled to one horse livery each. Sir William Powell[95] and Sir George Marshall,[96] surveyors of the races, each enjoyed £22 per annum and two hackney liveries.*

We have been indebted to the papers of Sir Richard Graham and Sir Edmund Verney[97] for some rather interesting items of information relating to the turf in those days. It is also remarkable that an ordinary incident gives us an insight into the distribution of patronage between these celebrities and the king's favourite minister with respect to the lieutenancy of Waddon Chase, which office was in the gift of Buckingham, by whom it was conferred on Sir Edmund in June, 1622. Some time previously, Verney solicited the post from Buckingham on "Newmarkett heath," when Graham was present, doubtless with many more, at the races. The appointment was now confirmed, without limit to venison, with permission to kill what he chose both in park and chase, and without restriction to his own pleasure or those of his friends.†

[95] WILLIAM POWELL, Esq., of Pengethby, in the county of Hereford, one of the Masters of the Requests, was created a baronet, January 18, 1621–2. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, Knight, but died without issue at his manor of Munster House, Middlesex, in 1653, when the title became extinct.

* Hist. MS. Coss., vi., Rep. App., pp. 323–325.
† Verney Papers, p. 106. *Ibid.*

[96] Sir George Marshall, knighted by James I. at Royston, October 6, 1614, was connected with the royal studs from this time to his death. In 1628 he had £500 a year, payable at Michaelmas and Lady Day, for "keeping his Majesty's race of mares" in Cole Park and West Park, Wiltshire. Some of his descendants also fulfilled these offices to *temp.* George II.

[97] Sir Edmund Verney, third son of Sir Ralph Verney, of Penley and Middle Clayton, Buckinghamshire, on the death of his half-brother, Sir Francis Verney, succeeded to the family estates in 1615. Before Edmund Verney had attained his majority, he had seen war in the Low Countries, and had visited the courts of France and Italy. On his return to England, a gentleman accomplished in all courtly qualities, he was taken into the household of Prince Henry, where he filled the office of chief sewer, while his uncle Francis was one of the prince's falconers. On January 7 1610–11, Edmund Verney was knighted. In the same year he visited Madrid. He returned to England to find Prince Henry dead, and in the interval which took place between the death of the king's eldest son and the establishment of the household of Prince Charles, Sir Edmund espoused Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Denton, Knight, of Hillesdon, Bucks, December 14, 1612. During the ensuing year the new regulations of Prince Charles's household took effect, and Sir Edmund was appointed to the place of one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. For some years following he attended to the management of his estates, and took an active part in the local affairs of his county, in which his status was considerably increased by his appointment to the lieutenancy of Whaddon Chase. In 1623 he joined the suite of attendants despatched to constitute the retinue of the prince during his stay in and journey back from Madrid. Sir Edmund Verney was returned Member of Parliament for the borough of Buckingham in 1624. The accession of Charles I. made a material improvement in the position of Sir Edmund Verney and all those who had been in his Majesty's household during the lifetime of his father. On December 25, 1625, the

new king confirmed to Sir Edmund a pension of £200 per annum, which he had formerly, whilst Prince of Wales, given him during pleasure. This was followed by another and more important preferment. The ancient office of Marshal of the King's Palace, the holder being commonly called "the Knight Marshal," which had been held in succession during the reign of James I. by Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Thomas Vavasour, and Sir Edward Zouch, was surrendered by the last of those gentlemen to the king on February 14, 1626, and on the 16th of the same month his Majesty granted it to Sir Edmund Verney for life. The principal duties of the office—to preserve order and prevent the access of improper persons to the court—rendered it necessary for the holder to be a close attendant upon the court; but he was empowered to appoint a deputy, as well as from four to six officers or vergers. The profits of his court, which could take cognizance of all causes arising in the king's household, or within the verge, that is, within twelve miles compass of the court, probably yielded ample compensation to the holder for his ordinary services. This appointment was followed, on March 26, 1626, by a further pension of £200 a year for life. In May, 1630, Spencer, Earl of Northampton, commissioned Sir Edmund Verney "for the space of six whole and entire years, to take and seize for his Mayestys vse, and in his Majestys name, within all places in the county of Buckingham, such and so many greyhounds, both dogs and bitches, in whose custody soever they be, as he shall think meet and convenient for his majestys disport and recreation." Sir Edmund accompanied Charles I. in the expedition to Scotland, and on the outbreak of the civil war he was appointed marshal and standard-bearer to the king. As it was Sir Edmund's duty to carry the royal standard in time of war, he took a prominent part in several engagements, and at the battle of Edgehill he charged with it amongst the thickest of the enemy, to encourage the soldiers to follow him, and, being surrounded, was offered his life if he would surrender the standard, but, rejecting the offer, he fell with great honour. He had six daughters and six sons, of whom Henry was one of the most enthusiastic turfites of his day.

To John Cosnold gentleman vsher daylie wayter to his Matie for allowance of himselfe one gent vsher q^rter wayter one yeoman vsher, twoe gromes and one groome porter for riding and attending his Matie from Theobalds to Newmarkett and backe to whitehall nyne daies menss September 1622 x^li viij^s (m. 145).

To Sr Robert Vernon, Knight, Keeper of his Ma^ts house at Newmarkett being lodged oute of the Courte in November and December 1621 by warr^t: dated viij^mo Febr. 1621[-22] C^s. To him more for not being lodged in Courte mense Januar et Febr 1621[-22] by warr^t dated sc^do Apriles 1622, C^s. To him more for Brooms shovells &^c and carrying the soyle away for one whole yeare ended at Mich'as 1622 by warr^t dated viij^mo Novembr 1622 xiij^li xij^s iiij^d (m. 149).

To John Gosnolde (and others) for attending on his Matie from Whitehall to Theobalds, from thence to Royston, Fynchinbroke and backe to Royston and from thence to Theobaldes, backe to Royston, and soe to Newmarkett and from thence to Royston Theobaldes and Whitehall, in all by the space of $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ ij dayes in the months of October, November and December 1622 Cv^li iiij^s viij^d (m. 158).—Accs. T. C.

"1622. February 3. Rex aucupatur apud Newmarket."—Camden's Annals, *sub dato.*

The king and court were located at Newmarket in February, 1623, when one of the first occurrences mentioned related to the charges for the journey thither of his Excellency Ferdinand de Boischot, Ambassador Extraordinary of Clara Euginia Isabella, Infante of Spain. Curiously enough, he encountered the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham on the road, disguised with false beards, and travelling as Messieurs John and Thomas Smith, with their servant (the Right Worshipful Sir Richard Graham, Knight, and lord of many manors), *en route*

1623. February.

to the court of Madrid, where beauty called and pleasure led the way. Of course the king, the council, the ministers, and the courtiers were (when it, soon after, became known) absorbed in the prince's romantic pilgrimage of love to the court of Madrid, so much so that all other events were either shelved or regulated to Secretary Conway,[98] the minister in attendance on the king.* It may be mentioned, however, that the Council were enjoined to attend to the Lent sermons; the Lord Mayor of London was directed to drill the trained foot-bands, and see to the well ordering of the City; the Attorney-General was to call before him the owner and tenant of a coney warren at Foulmere, near Royston, which hindered the king's sport there, and to request them to have it diswarrened; should they refuse, their grant of free warren to be called for, and annulled if found in any way informal or defective. The Naval Commissioners were ordered to report whether the Lord Admiral's pinnace was swift and strong enough to carry the prince's jewels, etc., to Spain, and how and at what cost it, or any other bark, could be got ready. These extraordinary proceedings gave rise to all sorts of rumours, and the crisis became so serious, that the

* "Whereas Jonathan Scot one of the messengers of his Maties Chamber in Ordinary hath of late bene imployed vppon his Maties Speciall service by the Right Honorable Sr Edward Conoway Knight Secrettary to his Matie, in Riding post from Newmarkett vnto London & backe agayne to his Maties Court at Newmarkett in the which Journey he hath disbursed severall somes in the wch he humblie prayeth allowance @ Impr^ñ: from Newmarkett vnto London it being 54 miles at 6^d the mile is £01 : 07 : 00. Item for the post guides being £00 . 02 . 06. Item from London to Newmarkett the same at 6^d the mile & 6^d the guide £01. 09. 06. Some £02. 19. 00."—State Papers, Dom., vol. cxxxix., m. 20 (120).

members of the Council repaired to Newmarket, threw themselves upon their knees before the king, and implored him to tell them what it all meant. He told them the prince had gone to seek the hand of the Infanta Donna Maria, eldest daughter of the King of Spain, and reminded them how he, his father, and his grandfather had gone from Scotland to win their wives. This *dénouement* increased the excitement. The captains of the guard, with their forces, were summoned to Newmarket, in case their assistance should be required to suppress any insubordination which threatened momentarily to break out.* The difficulty was tided over in peace, and in March elaborate preparations were concluded for sending a proper suite to attend the prince at Madrid, accompanied with a large collection of Crown jewels which the king ordered Secretary Conway, Lord Brooke,[99] the Treasurer of the Household, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Auditor Grafton, and Herriot the jeweller, to select from the regalia in the Tower. This novel expedition soon after sailed for Madrid. The jewels, which were valued at £600,000, arrived in safety, and were duly presented to the Infanta by the prince. They are enumerated by the king in his letter to the prince, which bears the following superscription :—"From Newmarket, on St. Patrick's Day,

* Secretary Conway, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, says: "Those that gave the council to have bands of soldiers to guard his Majesty at Newmarket, have now discovered that this sufferance of so many to follow into Spain, will exhaust the money of the kingdom wholly. By this your Excellency may find how infinite the wisdoms are here."—Harl. MS., 1580, p. 293.

who, of old, was too well patronized in the country you are in." *

In the meantime a few ordinary passing events at Newmarket may be mentioned. On March 7 Sir Edward Peyton [100] wrote to the Earl of Holderness [101] to furnish him with a warrant to take one hundred partridges yearly, in the Isle of Ely, Marchland, Holland, and the woody part of Norfolk, where gentlemen cannot hawk. These were to be turned down at Newmarket and Iselham. The warrant was granted the same day: hence both personages must have been at Newmarket at this date. The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors were also at Newmarket, which was full to overflowing until the departure of the court at the end of that invigorating month.† On the 10th of March the Cambridge comedians ("lez comedian Cantabrig.") were entertained at the palace at a cost of £16 17*s.* 1*d.*‡

[98] SIR EDWARD CONWAY—son and heir of Sir John Conway and Elene, daughter of Sir Fluke Grenville, of Beauchamp's Court, county Warwick—received the honour of knighthood from Robert, Earl of Essex, at the sacking of Cadiz, where he commanded a regiment in 1596. He afterwards served in the Netherlands, and was Governor of the Brill. In the twentieth year of James I.'s reign he was constituted one of the principal Secretaries of State, and elevated to the peerage, March 22, 1624, as Baron Conway of Ragley, county Warwick, a manor acquired by purchase towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was appointed captain of the Isle of Wight in the

* State Papers, edited by Lord Hardwicke (Lond., 1778), vol. i., p. 406.

† State Papers, Dom., vols. cxxxviii., cxxxix., *passim*; compare Hackett's "Life of Williams."

‡ Cofferers' Accs., Series III., box E., Rot. 44, MS., P.R.O.

December following, and being again Secretary of State in the first year of Charles I.'s reign, was advanced to the Irish Viscounty of Killultagh March 15, 1626, in which year, June 6, he was created Viscount Conway, of Conway Castle, county Carnarvon. He filled afterwards the high office of President of the Council, and was accredited upon some other occasion Ambassador Extraordinary to the court of Vienna. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Tracy, Knight, of Toddington, county Gloucester, and widow of Edward Bray, Esq., by whom he had Edward his successor, Ralph, and four daughters. He died in 1630, and was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway.

[99] Sir Fluke Grenville, son of Sir F. Grenville and Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, a man of letters and a distinguished courtier in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., who, at the coronation of the latter monarch, was made a Knight of the Bath, and soon after was called from being Treasurer of the Navy to be Treasurer of the Household and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was sworn of the Privy Council. In the second year of James I.'s reign he obtained a grant of Warwick Castle and the gardens and other dependencies about it, and was elevated to the peerage, January 29, 1620–1, by the title of Baron Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, county Warwick, with limitation, in default of heirs male of his own body, to his kinsman, Robert Grenville, son of Fluke Grenville, Esq., of Thorpe Latimer, co. Lincoln. His lordship died September 30, 1628. As he was never married, the honours descended, according to the limitation, to his kinsman, Robert Grenville, above mentioned.

[100] Sir Edward Peyton, eldest son and heir of Sir John Peyton, of Isleham, Cambs, and Alice, daughter of Sir Edward Osborne, Lord Mayor of London in 1585, succeeded to the estates of his family on the death of his father, about the year 1617. Sir Edward was knighted at Whitehall, February 4, 1610, and during the lifetime of his father was denominated "of Great Bradley, in Suffolk." He served in Parliament

from the 18th of James I. to the 3rd of Charles I. as one of the knights of the shire for the county of Cambridge, and was custos rotulorum thereof, which office he was deprived of by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham. "Whereupon he was so much disgusted, that he first drew his pen against the court, and writ several pamphlets with great acrimony against Charles I. and the royalists." He subsequently sided with the Presbyterians in the great rebellion, and so impoverished himself in the cause, that he was obliged to sell Isleham, and, drawing his son into joining him, sold the whole estate, with the reserve only of annuities, during both their lives.

[101] See ante.

Sir John Finet gives the following account of the Spanish ambassador's journey to Newmarket:—"Monsieur de Boiscot, Ambassador Extraordinary from the Arch-Duke, arriving at London while the King was at Theobalds in his way to New-Market, and setting forth from London, (in Company of the Spanish Ambassador, Don Carlos de Coloma to come to their Audience of his Majesty). On Sunday the 23 of February [they] lay at Ware the first night, the next at Royston, the third at Cambridge, where in Trinity Colledge, the Master's Lodgings were taken up for them, the King's officers of his House appointed to serve them; being defrayed there, all the way out and home by his Majestie, but not befor nor after in London. The Wednesday following they were fetcht, (by Lord Walden, with three or four Gentlemen, the King's servants, in the King's Coach, and others appointed for their Journey), to New-Market, where straight entering the Court for their

repose in the Prince's Lodgings, (his Highness being then gone for Spaine,) they were introduced by the Earle of Arundel[102] meeting them in the Presence, then to the Privy-Chamber-door, through it and the withdrawing chamber into the king's Bed-Chamber, (where all others but the Agent of the Archdutchess Monsieur Van Mall, who attended him there) were excluded; they had an hour's audience of his Majesty, and returned that night to Cambridge. The next day, passing their time in sight of severall colledges and of the Schooles (where at a Congregation purposely called they were admitted Masters of Arts, and heard after that a Disputation in Phylosophy) they the next morning parted thence to Audley-end and, entertained there that night by the Lord Walden (in absence of his Father the Earle of Suffolk) they the next day came to London." *

[102] Thomas Howard, EARL OF ARUNDEL, was born July 7, 1592. Being deprived by his father's attainder of the honours and the greatest part of the estates of his family, he had only the title of Lord Maltravers by courtesy during Queen Elizabeth's reign; but he was restored, by Act of Parliament, in the first year of James I. (1603), to all such titles of honour and precedence as Philip, Earl of Arundel, lost by his attainder, as also to the honour, state, and dignity of Earl of Surrey, and to such dignity of baronies as Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, lost by his attainder. He was created Earl-Marshal in 1621, and Earl of Norfolk, June 6, 1644. His lordship married, in 1606, Lady Alatheia Talbot, daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of Gilbert, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. He died October 4, 1646.

* Finetti, "Philoxenis," fo. 119.

In the autumn the king was at Newmarket on a flying visit, when William Lamplough, clerk of the kitchen, received £500, for providing "divers French gentlemen, lately sent unto his Matie with a present of hawks from the French king, of all necessaries in a journey along with his Majesty to Theobalds, Royston, and Newmarket, they being to reside there for a season, to exercise the game of hawking for his Maties disport and recreation."* About this time Thomas Johnson was appointed supervisor of the game at Newmarket, and Royston, where poaching appears to have been excessive, and all justices of the peace, etc., were enjoined to aid and assist him in the performance of his duties, as appears by the following writ :— 1623.

James by the, etc. To all Mayors Sheriffs Justices of Peace Bayliffes, Constables Headborroughs, and all other o^r officers and Ministers to whom it shall appertaine Greetinge. Whereas wee are giuen to vnderstand that o^r Game of Hare, Pheasants, Partridge, &c. is much spoyled and killed vp by vnlawfull wayes wth Gunnes, Netts, setting Dogs, and divers sorts of Engines the effect whereof wee o^r self doe find in the parts about Royston, and Newmarkett where though wee have given speciall charge and comand for p^rsevinge the Game for o^r owne Royall disports, and doubt not but that the gents of qualitie doe in their dutie and respect vnto us yeild all due obedience and comformatie therevnto, yet the Game is exceedingly spoyled by Pochers, and persons

* Pells, Order Book ; Privy Seals, *sub dato ;* State Papers, Dom., vol. cliv. The valley of the Lee was a favourite meet with the royal hawks and cormorants. The river was strictly preserved by the king, who employed several gamekeepers for that purpose. During this visit one of the king's cormorants was stolen. It was purchased from the thief by the Bishop of Winchester, and, after much ado, was eventually restored to the royal vivaria.

of base condition. For p^r^ventinge wherof wee have appointed and authorized Thomas Johnson to have the care and oversight of o^r^ Game in all the parts about Royston and Newmarkett, and to seize, and take away all such Gunnes Netts, and Engines as are, or shalbe ready or kept for destroinge o^r^ Game in anie those parts, contrarie to o^r^ comaund. And wee doe hereby require and charge you, and desire of you to bee aydinge and assistinge vnto him from time to time as their shalbe cause, for the better exercūcoñ of o^r^ pleasure, &c.—n.d. State Papers, Dom., vol. cviii. no. 109 (575).

To John Peynell vppon warr^t^ dated xxviij^mo^ Marij 1623 for rydinge poste from Westminster to the Courte at Newmarkett iiij^li^.—Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household, M.S., P.R.O. (m. 162).

To George Cuddington picture drawer vppon the Councils warr^t^ dated primo July 1623 for drawinge the picture of the Infanta of Spayn wch was delivered into his Ma^ts^ bedchamber xxx^li^.—*Ibid.*

To Raphe Robynson vppon the lyke warr^t^: dated vltimo marij 1623 for rydinge post from Newmarkett to London and backe agayne viij^li^.—*Ibid.*

To Sir Roberte Vernon knight, keeper of the house at Newmarkett vppon twoe warrauntes dated xij^mo^ Aprilis 1623 for his lodginge out of the Courte; his owne beinge taken from him by the space of xij weekes in the moneths of November December Februarye and Marche xij^li^. To him more vppon a warr^t^ dated viij^mo^ Octobris 1623 for broomes &^c^ xiij^li^ vij^s^ viij^d^.—*Ibid.*

To Sir Thomas Sackvyle, Knight gentleman vsher daylie wayter for the allowaunce of himselfe one yeoman vsher three yeomen hangers, twoe gromes of the Warderobe, and one grome porter, for makinge readie of Trinitye Colledge in Cambridge for Don Carlos the Spanishe Ambassador, the Baron de Boyscote the Archduches' Ambassador; and Monsieur Vannall a gentleman from the Archduches xviij^en^ dayes; twelve Chambers for gentlemen wch did accompanye the saide Ambassadors xxiiij^or^ dayes; the Princes lodgings at New-

markett twoe severall tymes for the saide Ambassadours xvj^{ti} dayes, in all by the space of lvij dayes mensibz Februar et Martij 1622 and 1623 ~ xlvij^{li} vij^{s}. iiij^{d} (m. 158*d*).—*Ibid.*

To Willm Welde servaunte to Mr. Secretary Conway vppon Councells warr^{t} dated the laste of February 1622 for rydinge in poste from Newmarkett to London and backe againe for his Ma^{ts} service C^{li} (m. 159.) More to him vppon like warr^{t} dated Marcij xxiij^{to} 1622 for his postinge charges from Newmarkett to London and backe againe iiij^{li} (m. 160).

To Sir John Coke, knight, vppon the lord Chamberleynes warr^{t} dated xxiiij^{to} Jaunarij 1622 in reward to sondry Preachers of Cambridge preachinge before his Matie in his huntinge Yourneys at Royston, Finchingbroke and Newmarkett at seuerall tymes between the vijth of October 1620 and the sixteenth of December 1622 attested vnder the handes of the Bishoppe of Durham and the Vicechauncello^{r} of Cambridge lxij^{li} (m. 163*d*).—*Ibid.*

Although everything was at sixes and sevens at Whitehall, the king stole away to Newmarket in January, 1624. He arrived there on the 17th, "against the advice of his physicians, to see some hawks fly." A French nobleman, who is described as "a good falconer," had recently arrived in London, with a present of sixteen cast of hawks, some horses, and "setting dogs," from Louis XIII. These were destined for the royal mews, stables, and kennels at Newmarket. This venatic envoy was received in London with all the *éclat* and ceremony accorded to the highest embassies: "He made a splendid entry with his train by torch-light, and will stay till he has instructed some of our people in this kind of falconry, though he costs his Majesty £25 or £30 a day."* 1624. January.

* Chamberlain to Carleton, London, Jan. 17, 1642.

Expensis of the diet of Mons. Bonavons, a Falkoner at Royston and Newmarket in the months of Jany and Feb. viz, at Waltham Cross £34. 17. 8, Royston £41. 7s. 7d, Newmarket £215. 11. 6, Royston £43 10. 2, Waltham Cross £49. 8. 9, and London £354. 11. 9, 35 days in the said months amounting altogether to the sum of £739. 7. 4.

Expensis of a feast provided for Mons. Bonavons at Newmarket in the month of February £10. 3. 2.—Exchequer, L.T.R., Wardrobe Accs., Cofferer, Series III., box E., Rot. 45, M.S., P.R.O.

What this instruction was, or what sport ensued, has not transpired. However, on the 29th, Secretary Conway wrote from Newmarket to Mr. Draper in London to send some one for a hawk of the king's, which had been taken up in Kent. His Majesty himself wrote to the authorities of Jesus College, Cambridge, to elect John Hume to the next vacant fellowship, notwithstanding their statutes excluding the "beggarly Scotch" of participating in the honours and emoluments of that university, which was an old grievance, dating back to the arrival of the king and his Caledonian followers in the "Land of Promise." On the 30th, Secretary Conway intimated to the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, that the king, wishing to be "disburdened of the noble falconers," desired expedition of the presents designed for them on their departure. The king's present to the Grand Falkner of France was his picture in a case garnished with diamonds, with a chain set in diamonds, to the value of £800 or £1000. The Prince of Wales returned to London on the following day; and on February 3 "the king was so drousey that he could only keep him-

self awake by playing at cards." Sir William Grey, of Northumberland, was created Baron Grey [103] of Werke Sir George Goring [104] obtained the surveyorship of the soap-works, with a fee of £60 a year; the Bishop of St. Asaph got a dispensation to hold certain livings *in commendam;* and Sir William Pelham [105] directed attention to the great destruction of wild fowl at Crowley, which if prevented, Newmarket would abound with those useful accessories of the chase. Similar business was transacted at the palace up to February 7th, when the court went to Theobalds, *en route* to Whitehall, where the king arrived on the 11th, to find that the course of true love did not run smooth with "Baby Charles" and the "Infanta Maria," as the Spanish match, which promised so much felicity, happiness, and honour to all concerned, was definitely broken off. Parliament was in session at Westminster, where the Commons were claiming rights and privileges unheard of; and, sooth to say, had their claims allowed. Some of the high officers of state were impeached for neglecting and abusing their functions. Foreign affairs were terribly complicated, and war seemed imminent on all parts of the continent. Thus the spring, the summer, and the autumn passed away, and not until the treaty concluded with France was ratified in November, did another opportunity occur for James to behold again his beloved Newmarket.

In the meantime steps were taken to improve the game at Newmarket. On the 14th of March, John Fyson,* gamekeeper of heron, duck, and mallard, at

* Ancestor of the present Surgeon Fyson, of Newmarket.

Newmarket, received a warrant for payment of £40, for enclosing ground near the river there, to feed young fowl in, for increase of the game. On the 26th, Secretary Conway wrote to Lord Petre[106] on the subject, as follows:—

26 March, 1624.

Right hono^ble

Yo^r Lp will best see by this inclosed the informa'coñs that is come to my Lo. Annesie and imparted to the Kinge. His Matie hath comanded me to lett yor Lp. knowe how much hee affects the perfecting of that work of impailing a place for p'servañce of the Fowle wch is the founda'con of his pleasure about Newmarket. His Matie is confident of yor good inclana'con to fashion all things conveniently in yor power, to his contentm^t. His Matie desire therefore is, that you would by this Bearer send to me yor Lrs directed to yor Tennant to require and Warrant him to suffer the pales to be put vp on that quantitie of ground expressed. And his Matie is pleased to remitt it to you to make a iust and consciunable satisfac'con to yor Tennant for the value of the proffit he might take of that land. And his Matie will give order for the paym^t of it duly to him. And if yor Lp. shall please to addresse to my Lo. Annesie or myself what yor desire to have done in this point, you will find readines to gett quick dispatch, and good satisfac'on and faithful indeavour to improve your humble assecc'an to his Matie service in his Maties opinion of it. This is what I have in charge. My humble dutie presseth me to say that I may signe to it that I am yor Lp^s., etc.

In answer to this letter Lord Petre wrote from his town house in Aldersgate Street, the same day, that he would order his tenant to yield to his Majesty's wish touching the enclosure of the ground in his manor near Newmarket, for the preservation of wild fowl; and that then he would be a suitor for recom-

pence for him. The tenant, however, appears to have put obstacles in the way; as on April 11 Conway wrote again to Lord Petre on the subject, expressing the king's confidence that his lordship would persuade his tenant to acquiesce with his wishes; assuring him that just recompence would be given for any loss or damage he might thereby sustain. On the 20th, Fyson, one of the gamekeepers at Newmarket, wrote to Secretary Conway, that he had been hindered empaling the enclosure, because Lord Petre's tenant forbid the workmen to proceed until he had spoken with him. The writer asserted that the ground they made so much to do about was only worth forty shillings a year, and asked the secretary to furnish him with the king's warrant to proceed with the work. This was apparently refused, and we hear nothing further on the subject until July, 1632.

The king arrived from Royston at Newmarket on November 7. He was accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, Secretary Conway, and a large retinue. The royal sojourn lasted for about a month. During the greater portion of his visit the king was seriously indisposed, and he does not appear to have actively joined in the sports to which he was so devotedly attached. The time was passed in the performance of miscellaneous affairs of state. Count Ernest de Mansfeldt was entertained at the palace prior to his departure to lead the expedition for the recovery of the Palatinate, in the success of which the British public were generally interested. James's predilection for field

November.

sports is exhibited in many transactions and occurrences here at this time. Thus, Sir William Russell is ordered to destroy a coney warren on composition; Cuthbert Bacon, ranger and riding forester in the New Forest, appointed to have the oversight of the game and woods therein, during the vacancy occasioned by the absence of the warden; the dispute between Mr. Lee and John Knight, his under-keeper in Waltham Forest, to be reinvestigated, that a reconciliation may be effected between him and his master; Sir Robert Osborne to examine deer-stealers from Higham-Ferrers Park; warrant to Auguistine Parker to preserve the game of pheasants within five miles of Stanton, county Suffolk, and to take away any guns, nets, etc., used to destroy them; warrant to Richard Kerry to have charge of the game in and about Hampton Court. Being informed that Lord Clifford has bought a very fleet hound, the king desired him to send it to Newmarket: "The demand may be unacceptable, but it shows the king's freedom with his lordship." Lord Clifford replied that the hound was lame, or he would gladly send it to his majesty. Most of these documents were signed in the king's presence, "by his stamp in custody of the Earl of Annandale,"[107] in consequence of his Majesty being unable to hold a pen.* Such was the last visit but one of the British Solomon to the palace and the "royal village" which

* "During the greater part of the Year, the King had kept at *Newmarket* as in an Infirmary, and forgot his Recreations of Hunting and Hawking, having his Thoughts set upon the Match, and the restoring his Son-in-Law to the *Palatinate;* which, if it did not take Effect, he thought he should be undervalu'd by all the Princes of Europe."—Goodman, p. 58.

he may be said to have created, and which was destined to become the head-quarters of the English turf.*

In connection with this royal sojourn during the spring, we must now turn back, in order to refer to the following incidents.

In January, 1624, Sir Robert Shirley arrived in England from Persia, where, for some time past, he had been trading in silks and other commodities of that country. He came home accredited with diplomatic functions by the then Shah, and received all the honours and ceremonies usually accorded to ambassadors. His journey to and sojourn at the court at Newmarket is thus described by Sir John Finett :—

"The nineteenth of *January*, having received directions from my Lord Chamberlaine to repair to Newmarket for attendance of Sir *Robert Sherrley* (arrived Ambassador from the King of *Persia*) to his Audience, which by his Majesties appointment he was to have there [*i.e.* Newmarket] with the advantage and commodity of his neere abode at *Saxham* (his first rest after his Landing and long Travells, and whence his Sister the Lady *Crofts* sent to me to London, to prepare his access to his Majesty.) As soone as he was come to Court I sent my man to him with notice of my comming thither to serve him, and having received answer of his desires to be dispatcht for his speedy return, I acquainted both the Duke of Buckingham, and Master Secretary *Conway* with the cause of my comming, and the address I had from my Lord Chamberlaine to him too for my further Government : so the 27. of *January* I was sent [from Newmarket to] *Saxham* with the Kings Coach only, and five Gentlemen, the Kings Servants ; and parting thence the next morning early (in obedience of a Command sent Post to me thither from my Lord Duke after midnight, That the King having assigned

* State Papers, Dom., vols. 158–176, *passim.*

the Audience for the afternoone, would have me bring the Ambassador by ten in the forenoon) we came with three Coaches, besides the Kings to Court, where conducting him immediately up to the Princes Privy Chamber (for in absence of his Highness was purposely hung for honour of the Ambassador) he was fetcht thence by the Earle of Anglesey through the Privy Chamber, and the Withdrawing-Chamber; (where the Duke met him) into the King's Bedchamber; There having made his two first respects of Approach with his Turbant on, (his whole habite being Persian) at the third, he took it off, and laid it at the Kings feete, and made his Speech of Entrance kneeling, till the King willing him to arise and come, he did, and presenting his Letters of Credence (written in the Persian Language, and un-understood for want of an Interpreter no where then to be found in England:) After this, having gratious words, and countenances from his Majesty, he returned accompanied as he came to the Prince his Lodgings, where Master Secretary *Conway* repairing to him, intertained him an hour with discourse concerning the Propositions of his Negociation, (which he had a little before delivered to him, and the Duke in Writing,) and so returned to *Saxham*." *

In connection with this subject it only remains to be said that two years after these events took place a rival ambassador—one Nagdi Bey—landed in England, who pronounced Sir Robert Shirley to be an impostor, contending that he alone was properly accredited to the English court. Curious complications then arose between the rival ambassadors, the East India and Turkey Companies, and their respective partisans. The court officials and the ministers of state were sorely puzzled what to believe. Shirley waited on Nagdi Bey at his lodgings on Tower Hill, but, whether owing to the proximity of his hotel to Billingsgate or other

* "Philoxenis," p. 135.

circumstances, the interview between their Excellencies was a downright slanging affair, terminating in blows. After this scandal cooled down, Nagdi Bey was received by Charles I. in London, where he duly presented his credentials; but, as in everything else, the king was undecided, and got over the difficulty by recognizing and admitting the claims of both ambassadors. On March 14, 1624, Sir Robert Shirley was allowed £30 a week "during his Embassy here," which was subsequently increased to £40 a week "for diet and entertainment." His exertions in promoting commerce with Persia and the importation of Persian silks were highly appreciated. He chiefly resided with his sister, Lady Crofts, at Saxham, near Newmarket. Shirley, Nagdi Bey, and Sir Dormer Cotton (who went to Persia as ambassador to Charles I.) all died soon after, "and with them the quarrell and inquiry after it."

[103] WILLIAM GREY, son of Ralph Grey, Esq., of Chillingham, Northumberland, and Isabel, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Grey, of Horton, was created a baronet June 15, 1619, and elevated to the peerage as BARON GREY OF WERKE, at Newmarket, February 11, 1614. He married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield, in Essex, by whom he had Ralph, his heir and successor, and two daughters. In the year 1643, when Lord Keeper Lyttleton deserted the House of Lords, and carried the Great Seal to Charles I. at Oxford, Lord Grey was elected Speaker at Westminster. He died in 1674.

[104] Son of Sir George Goring, Earl of Norwich. (See *ante*.)

[105] Son and successor of Field-Marshal Sir William Pelham,

Knight, and Eleanor, daughter of Henry Nevile, Earl of Westmorland. He was ancestor of the Earls of Yarborough.

[106] William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre of Writtle, county Essex, succeeded his father, Sir John Petre, Knight, M.P. for the county of Essex, elevated to the peerage as Baron Petre of Writtle in that county, July 21, 1603, who died October 11, 1613. William Petre, 2nd Baron Petre, died in 1637, when the titles and estates reverted to his eldest surviving son.

[107] Sir John Murray, Knight, youngest son of Sir Charles Murray, by Margaret, his wife, eldest daughter of Hugh, 5th Lord Somerville, rising high in favour with James VI., was appointed Master of the Horse, and upon the king's accession to the throne of England, accompanied his Majesty to London as one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, and was created Viscount Annandale and Lord Murray of Lochmaben. On March 13, 1624–5, he obtained the Earldom of Annandale. His lordship, who succeeded his brother, Sir Richard Murray, Bart., in the old family estate of Cockpool, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Schaw, Knight. He died in September 1640.

Fyson. A Warrant to the excheq[r] to paie to John Fyson his Ma[ts] Game Keep at Newmarkett the som̃e, of 40[li] towards
1623–4. March. the empaling & enclosing a piece of ground there for the feeding & holdinge of younge fowle for his Ma[ts] service for the Preseruacon of y[e] Game there. Trer. Procud by the: Lord Viscount Annan[dale]. Pro Rege.—Docquet Book, *s.d.*

Fyson. A Warr[t] vnder the Signet for John Fyson for preservac̃on of his Ma[ts] Game of Heron, Ducke and Mallard in and about Newmarkett, Exninge, Lanworth, Snaylewell, Fordham, Chippenham and diue[z] other places thereabouts. Procured by Mr. Leuinston of his Ma[ts] Bed-chamber; dated the: 12th daie of Marche 1623.—*Ibid.*

To Oliver Browne his Ma[ts] Vpholdster vpon the Councills warr[t] dated xiiij[to] December 1624 for making sixe portable

Chaires covered with Velvett to bee vsed in tyme of hunting for ease and sixe seats of Spanish Leather to lift his Ma^ty^ to and from his Bed xxxix^li^ xiij^s^ (m. 174*d*).

To Sir Robert Vernon keeper of his Ma^ts^ House at Newmarkett vpon a warraunte dated tertio Marii 1623 for his Lodging out of Courte from the sixt of January 1623 vntill the fift of February following iiij^li^ (m. 175).

To John Barwicke, Keeper of his Ma^ts^ House at Newmarkett vpon a warr^t^ dated xv^to^ Octobr 1624 for clensing the said House for halfe a yeare ended at Michās 1624 C^s^ (m. 175*d*).

To Henry Feale vppon the Councils warraunte dated viij Decembris 1624 for the Charges in hyringe of a Coache, and for Dyett with his owne attendaunce on Mouns^r^ de Boots a Dutche gentleman from London to Newmarkett to make knowne to his Matie some matters of Importance xvj^li^ (m. 189).

To John Manington vppon the Councills warraunte dated at Newmarkett xx^o^ Novembris 1624 for Riding Post from Newmarkett to London and backe againe iiij^li^ (m. 192*d*).

To Richard Scutt vpon a like warraunte dated xxj^o^ February 1624[-25] for Riding post from Newmarkett to Newhall, and from thence to London and back againe to Newmarkett iiij^li^. (m. *Ibid.*).—Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS., P.R.O.

1625. February—March.

"The King kept his chamber all Christmas, only going out in his litter, in fair weather, to see some flights at the brook." * Hawking was the only sport the king could now indulge in, and, owing to his impaired health, even that pastime was pursued under difficulties. However, on February 3, 1625, his Majesty was once more, and for the last time, located at Newmarket,

* Chamberlain to Carleton, London, Jan. 8, 1625.

whither he was accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham and a small suite of retainers. On the 7th he issued a proclamation "for redress of the inveterate evil of killing, dressing, and eating flesh in Lent, or on fish days"! Butchers were not to be licenced, under any circumstances, to infringe this regulation; and victuallers, hotel-keepers, etc., were to give sureties not to dress meat on such days; and none were to eat it without special licences from a bishop, which indulgences were to be "sparingly granted." Fishmongers were likewise forbidden to increase the price of fish. A few days later, Sir Albert Morton arrived at the palace, and was sworn in as Secretary of State in succession to Sir George Calvert,[108] from whom he obtained that post for £6000 and an Irish barony, either for himself, or any other person on whom he chose to bestow it. Young Edward Hungerford, who was then at Newmarket, was reported to have been made a baron by payment, "this being the true golden age." On the 13th Buckingham wrote to the Lord Chief Justice to take steps to remove his sister-in-law, Frances, Viscountess Purbeck, from the house of the Prince of Wales, "which is defiled by her presence, and where by her subtilty she still works on her husband, to some fitting the prison, the King having ceased to wish her to be treated with respect."[109] The master of the toils was ordered to take three brace of bucks in Hyde Park and convey them to Marybone Park (now the Regent's Park), "to supply the scarcity caused by the great rain there." On the 17th Secretary Conway arrived at

the palace, where he remained conducting routine public business between the king and the Council (which calls for no comment), until the 23rd of that month, when the king and court removed to Chesterford Park, *en route* to Royston, which was reached on the 27th. Here the Prince of Wales joined his father, who was visibly approaching his end. The next, and last, remove was to Theobalds, where the court arrived on the 1st of March; and, about noon of the 27th of that month, James I. breathed his last, and Charles I. was instantly proclaimed king.*

[108] SIR GEORGE CALVERT, son and heir of Leonard Calvert, Esq., of Danbywiske, Yorkshire, and Alecia, daughter of John Crossland, Esq., of Crossland, in the same county, was born in 1578. Having served as secretary to Sir Robert Cecil when Secretary of State, and afterwards as a clerk to the Privy Council, he received the honour of knighthood in 1617, and was appointed, in the beginning of the ensuing year, Secretary of State to the king, who employed him in the most important affairs, and settled, in 1600, a pension of £1000 a year upon him beyond his salary. Sir George changing his religion, however, and turning Roman Catholic in 1624, voluntarily resigned his post. The king continued him, nevertheless, in the Privy Council, and, having made him large grants of lands in Ireland, elevated him to the peerage of that kingdom, at Newmarket, February 16, 1624, as BARON BALTIMORE, county Longford, Sir George being at the time representative in Parliament for the University of Oxford. Whilst Secretary of State, his lordship obtained a grant of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland, with the most extensive privileges, and expended £25,000 in the settlement thereof. This place he visited thrice in the reign of James I., but after contending with great spirit against the French encroachments,

* State Papers, Dom., vols. clxxxi.—clxxxv., *passim*.

he was obliged to abandon it altogether; whereupon he obtained from Charles I. a patent of Maryland to him and his heirs for ever, with the same title and royalties as in Avalon, to hold in common soccage as of the manor of Windsor, paying yearly, as acknowledgment to the Crown, two Indian arrows at Windsor Castle, upon Easter Tuesday, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore. His lordship did not live, however, to see the grant pass the Great Seal, and his son Cecil, the succeeding Lord Baltimore, had it made out in his own name, bearing date June 20, 1632. The province of Maryland was so named by Charles I. in honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria.

[109] She was charged for practising sorcery, which could not be sustained, and subsequently for incontinency (see Bishop Goodman's "The Court of James I.," vol. ii., p. 376). Lady Purbeck cohabited with Sir Robert Howard, fifth son of the Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Chamberlain. A son having been born, Lady Purbeck and the reputed father, Sir Robert Howard, were both prosecuted for adultery in the Court of High Commission, and were convicted and sentenced to do penance. Lady Purbeck escaped the humiliating ceremony by concealing herself; but her paramour had probably to undergo it, for in 1640, when the "Old Powdering Tub" was abolished, a fine of £500 was, at the suit of Sir Robert Howard, imposed on Archbishop Laud, who had passed the sentence. It seems that the Ambassador of Savoy was implicated in this intrigue. Sir John Finett records that—

"In the time of Christmas, the Vicountess of *Purbeck* having for execution of a sentance pronounced against her in the High Commission Court, her house beset by a Serjeant at Armes, with other Officers of Justice; a Gentleman came in the morning from the Countess of *Buckingham* to the Ambassador of *Savoy*, demanding leave of him for the said Officers to pass through his house into his Garden (joined to the Ladies) for her more easie apprehension, and arrest by that way, which though at first he somewhat struck at (as wronging and lesning, he thought, the respect of his quality,

to leave his house free of entrance to such persons, especially for the surprize and arrest of a fair Lady his Neighbour) he at last, notwithstanding suffered the Constable to enter it, and with convenience to remain in it and in the Garden, watching his opportunity till dinner-time, when some of the Gentlemen attendants on him, contriving a way to be rid of that incumbrance, dressed the Ambassadors Page (a handsome fair Boy) in womans apparrell, thrust him suddenly into the Lords Coach, (as if it had been the Lady making her escape) and drove fast with him down the Strand, followed by a Multitude of people, and those Officers (not without danger to the Coach-man, from their violence) but with ease to the Ambassador, that had his house by this device cleared of the Constable, but himself after charged by the Duke, That all this was done of designe for the Ladies escape (which in that Hubbub she made) to his no small prejudice, and scorn in a business that so nearly, he said, concerned him (she being Wife to his Brother, and bringing him Children of anothers begetting, yet such as by the Law (because begotten and born while her Husband was in the Land) must be his Fathering). The Ambassador for his Purgation from this charge, went immediately to the Duke at *Whitehall*, but was denied accesse: Whereupon repairing to my Lord Chamberlain for his mediation, I was sent to him by his Lordship to let him know more particularly the Dukes displeasure, and back by the Ambassador to the Duke with his humble request but of one quarter of an hours audience for his disblaming, he a sevennight after obtained of the Duke an interview in *Whitehall* Garden, and after an hours parley, a reconciliation."—"Philoxenis," 239.

To William Glover gentleman vsher daily wayter to his Matie for the allowaunce of himselfe one gentleman vsher Quarter wayter, one yeoman vsher, one yeoman hanger, and attending from Whitehall to Newmarkett and backe again to Denmarke house Menss Januarij Februarij Martij et Aprilis 1624 et 1625 for lxxviij^en^ dayes C^li^ ij^s^ (m. 188*d*). —Accs. of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

Probably the final incident in connection with the last sojourn of James I. at Newmarket related to a present of four cast of hawks, which he sent to Louis XIII., so quaintly related in the subjoined document :—

The Decleration of the Accompte of Sir Anthonie Pell Knight Mis Falkoner to his late Ma^ty and by him appointed to send vnto the French King a present of fower Caste of Hawkes as appeareth By warr^t of the right honorable Henry viscount Mandevill now Earle of Manchester late Lord highe Thrēar of England and Sr Fluke Grevill knight then Chauncello^r and vnderthrēar of the Courte of Excheq^r remayning in ye Threasury Office at the Receipte of the said Excheq^r and directed to Sr Robert Pye and the rest of the officers of the Receipte for Impresting moneys vnto him this Accomptūnte for that service Which warr^t bearing date the xij^th Daye of January 1620 is hereafter verbatim recited viz. After o^r hearty commendacons, Whereas it hath pleased his Ma^ty to appointe Sr Anthony Pell his Mr Falkoner to send vnto his good Brother the French King a Present of fower Caste of Hawkes and is pleased to allowe vnto him for theire transportation and five Servants wth horses to attend them the some of One hundred and fifty pounds Current english money imprest and such further somes as shall appeare vpon Bills to bee allowed by vs vpon Accompte, and in regard of the speed of the service doth require, wee cannott procure a privy Seal to warr^t the paym^t Therefore wee will and desire you to make paym^t of the said some of Cl^li vnto the said Sr Anthony Pell and take his Acquittūnce for the same, vntill a privy Seale may be procured, wch wth all convenient speed shallbe done, And in the meane tyme this o^r Lrē shallbe yor warr^t. This xij^th of January 1620 That is to saye aswell of such moneys as the said Sr Anthony Pell hath received oute of the receipte of the Exchq^r as of the Disbursem^t thereof for provicon of the said Hawks wth the charge of sending and transporting them into Fraunce in Anno xviij^no Regis Jacobi As by a Booke thereof exhibited vpon

his oathe appeareth WHICH SAID ACCOMPTE was taken and Declared before the right honorable Francis Lord Cottington Chauncello^r and vnderthrear of his Ma^ts Courte of the Excheq^r (and alsoe Exercising the place and office of Lord High Thrēar of England by Cōmission vnder the Greate Seale of England bearing Date the xiij^th day of Maye in the Ninth Yeare of his Ma^ts Raigne during the attendūnce of Richard Earle of Portland Lord High Thrēar of England on his Majestys person in his journey into Scotland and vntill his returne vnto the City of London or Westm'., the xix^th Daye of July in the Ninth yeare of his Ma^ts Raigne, viz.:

THE SAID ACCOMPTU^SNTE is charged with money by him receaved and had of the Thrēar and vnderthrēar of the Courte of Excheq^r in MICHĀS TEARME Anno Regni Re Jacobi xviij^no finiēn et xix^mo incipien by thands of Sr Francis Egioke knight one of the fower Tello^rs of his Ma^ts Receipte of the Exchq^r for proviēon of fower Caste of Hawkes to be sent from his late Ma^ty to the King of Fraunce for the Charge of their Transportaēon and of sixe Servauntes wth Horses to attend them By vertue of the before recited warr^t and Dirrecēon As by a Certificatt thereof vnder the hand of Sr Robert Pye Knight appeareth. . . . Cl^li.

THE SAID ACCOMPTU^SNTE is allowed for the severall sumes of money hereafter following, viz. for fower Caste of Hawkes viz. twoe Caste of Herners iiij^xx li and twoe Caste of Brooke Hawks lx^li . . . Cxl^li For fowre Coates and fowre Suits for fower Servaunts sent wth the said presents . . . l^li For fower Horses bought and given them for their Journey . . . xxxij^li And for defreying their chargs and expense in their Journey into Fraunce theire staye there and returne back againe . . . lx^li In all by him the said Sr Anthony Pell distributed and paid As by a Booke exhibited vpon his oath and herevpon remayning appeareth. . . . CCiiij^xx ij^li.

AND so he resteth in SUPPLUSAGE the sume of . . . . Cxxxij^li.

(Signed) FRANCIS COTTINGTON.

—A.O.R. Ambassadors, roll 9, bundle 9, MS., P.R.O.

Bishop Goodman, who was, as he himself declares, "the last man that did homage" in the time of the king's sickness, attributed the fatal illness of James I. to the excessive use of green fruits: "After eating of fruit in the spring time, his body fell into great looseness, which although while he was young did tend to preserve his health, yet now, being grown toward sixty, it did a little weaken his body, and going to Theobalds, to Newmarket, and stirring abroad when as the coldness of the year was not yet past almost, it could not be prevented, but he must fall into a quartan ague, for the recovery whereof the physicians taking one course, and the plaister another, I fear the King was wronged between both." The plasters referred to by the bishop were applied, by Buckingham and his mother, to the king's wrist, without the consent of his physicians; and, through the medium of the plasters, it was alleged that the king was poisoned. On the fourteenth day of his illness the king lost the faculty of speech, and in the course of a few hours expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. Of his seven children, three sons and four daughters, only two survived him: Charles, his successor on the throne; and Elizabeth, the titular Queen of Bohemia.

Dr. Lingard says: "James, though an able man, was a weak monarch. . . . To forget his cares in the hurry of the chase, or the exercise of golf, in carousing at table, or laughing at the buffoonery and indecencies practised by those around him, seems to have con-

stituted the chief pleasures of his life. . . . Had the lot of James been cast in private life, he might have been a respectable country gentleman: the elevation of the throne exposed his foibles to the gaze of the public, and that at a time when the growing spirit of freedom and the more general diffusion of knowledge had rendered men less willing to admit the pretensions, and more eager to censure the defects, of their superiors. With all his learning and eloquence, he failed to acquire the love or esteem of his subjects: and though he deserved not the reproaches cast on his memory by the revolutionary writers of the next and succeeding reigns, posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal king, and a vain and loquacious pedant." *

The following list of "all the Knights Batchelaurs made by King James," at NEWMARKET, "since his comming to the Crown of *England*," is extracted from the "Perfect Collection" by J[ohn] P[hilipot] Esq., Somerset Herald, "a devout servant of the Royall Line," London (4mo) 1660:—

DATE.	NAME.	COUNTY.
1604–5.		
Feb. 26 ...	Sir Rice Griffin	Harwich
	„ Francis Fulford	Devon
„ 27 ...	„ Thomas Flemyng	Southampton
	„ Robert Crane	Suffolk
	„ Thomas Huggon	Norfolk
	„ Henry Colt	Suffolk
1606.		
Oct. 17 ...	„ Nicholas Hayes	Southampton
„ 18 ...	„ William Hewet	London

* "Hist. Eng.," vol. vii., chap. iii.

DATE.	NAME.	COUNTY.
Oct. 19 ...	Sir Thomas Plater	Suffolk
	„ Edward Lewknor	„
1607.		
April 16 ...	„ Edward Vere	Essex
	„ John Vere	„
1608–9.		
March 5 ...	„ Edward Lewkner	Suffolk
	„ Robert Quarles	Essex
„ 4 ...	„ Thomas Seckford	„
1609.		
April 8 ...	„ Frank Harris	
„ 17 ...	„ Edward Barret	Essex
1610–11.		
Feb. ...	„ Henry Pallavisine	Cambs.
	„ Charles Howard	
1611–12 (?)		
March ...	„ Henry Fane	Kent
1612–13.		
Jan. ...	„ Humphrey May	Sussex
	„ Francis Leigh	Warwick
	„ Robert Wingfield	
	„ Edmond Wyld	
	„ Edward Ascough	
	„ Joseph Killegrew	
	„ Edward Underhill... ...	Warwick
	„ Nevill Pool	
1614.		
Nov. 21 ...	„ William Some	
	„ John Repingdon	Warwick
1614–15.		
Jan. 19 ...	„ Dudley Norton	
„ 30 ...	„ John Savage	
Feb. 3 ...	„ Robert Anstrowcher	
March 17...	„ William Lampton	
	„ Thomas Gerrard	
1615.		
Dec. 4 ...	„ William Brunckard	

DATE.	NAME.	COUNTY.
Dec. 4 ...	Sir John Leighton	
„ 15 ...	„ Alexander Muncriffe	
1615–16.		
Jan. 17 ...	„ Thomas Bland	Yorks.
1616.		
May 14 ...	„ Steven Boteler	
Nov. 18 ...	„ Giles Mompesson	Wilts.
„ 20 ...	„ William Pelham	[Lincoln]
„ 25 ...	„ Moses Hill	
„ 28 ...	„ Huntington Colby ...	Suffolk
	„ Ferdinando Knightley ...	Northampton
„ 29 ...	„ Robert Oxenbridge ...	Hants.
	„ Robert Brown	
Dec. 6 ...	„ Charles Grosse	
	„ Henry Radley	[Lincoln]
	„ Samuel Somester	[Devon]
	„ Richard Sandford	[Westm.]
„ 12 ...	„ Richard Waldron	
„ 14 ...	„ Patrick Moneypenny	
„ 16 ...	„ George Lamplough	
	„ Thomas Wentworth	
1617.		
Nov. 17 ...	„ Robert Digby	
„ 27 ...	„ William Fish	
Dec. 3 ...	„ Charles Hussey	
„ 6 ...	„ Richard Saltingstall ...	London
1617–18.		
Jan. 30 ...	„ Francis Blundell	Ireland
Feb. 3 ...	„ Simon Norwich	
„ 7 ...	„ Michael Longevill	
„ 8 ...	„ Jasper Herbert	
1618.		
Nov. 23 ...	„ Richard Saltonstall	
	„ George Ellis	York
	„ Robert Kemp	
„ 24 ...	„ Benjamin Thornborow	

DATE.	NAME.	COUNTY.
Nov. 30 (?)	Sir George Yardley	
	„ Nathaniel Napper	
Dec. 1 ...	„ Thomas Deerham	
„ 4 ...	„ John Hare	
„ 5 ...	„ Philip Bedingfield	
„ 11 ...	„ Robert Willoughby	
„ 12 ...	„ Francis Leigh	
„ 15 ...	„ John Brewes	
1618–19.		
Jan. 21 ...	„ Francis Vivyan	
	„ Robert Lacy	
	„ John Miller	
„ 22 ...	„ Edward Dering	Kent
„ 24 ...	„ Robert Filmer	„
1619.		
April 26 ...	„ Thomas Fleetwood	
1620.		
Dec.	„ Francis Michell (after degraded, June, 1621)*	
1621.		
Nov. 19 ...	„ Alexander Culpeper	
Dec. 8 ...	„ Thomas Lydall	[Newcastle]
1621–22.		
Feb. 12 ...	„ George Hayes	
1622.		
Nov. 16 ...	„ William Becher	
Dec. 2 ...	„ Giles Estcourt	
	„ William Master	
„ 11 ...	„ Thomas Wanton	
1622–23.		
March 2 ...	„ John Mead	
„ 12 ...	„ Thomas Sanders	
1623.		
March 25 ...	„ Thomas Symons	

* He was impeached in Parliament and imprisoned for corruption in connection with public-house licences.

DATE.	NAME.	COUNTY.
1624.		
August ...	Sir Thomas Hartop of Burton Lazus ...	Leicester
Nov. 19 ...	„ Philip Parker of Arwerton	Suffolk
Dec. 2 ...	„ Alexander Brett	
1624–25.		
Feb. 8 ...	„ Thomas Swinborne ...	Northampton
„ 15 ...	„ Nicholas Martin	Devon
„ 20 ...	„ Thomas Culpeper	Kent
„ 24 ...	„ Roger Thornton of Snailwell	Cambs.

James I.'s knights were held in great contempt by the old English families. Any gentleman who could, without giving offence, usually declined the honour. Anent the royal progress to Scotland in 1617 Mr. Chamberlain writes: "All our Pentioners that went with the King are knighted there, that were undubbed before, and all the Gentlemen of Yorkshire; so that there is scarce left an esquire to uphold the race. And the Order is descended somewhat lower, even to Adam Hill, that was the Earl of Montgomery's barber, and to one Green, husband of the queen's laundress, an host of Doncaster, and to another that lately kept an inn at Romford." But they brought grist to the royal mill, and filled the pockets of the Scotch favourites. The same may be said of this monarch's baronetcies, which were avowedly designed to raise the wind.

Sir Anthony Weldon ("Court and Character of King James") remarks that "At this time the honour of knighthood, which antiquity reserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewell to present virtue with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeomanry (made addle through pride and a contempt of their ancestors' pedigree) that had but a court friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outward roome, where the king, the fountaine of honour, come downe,

and was uninterrupted by other businesse. In which case, it was then usuall for him to grant a commission to the chamberlaine, or some other lord, to it. But experience soon informed the empty Scot, that this airy treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turned to great profit, seeing the shoales of base and ignorant trouts that gaped after it (the cause, accesse to the king was more daily difficult) by this rending the temple of honour a common theater into which the basest were suffered to enter for their money." The minimum price of a Baronetcy was £1000 (although, in many instances, no reasonable offer was refused); while the various grades of the peerage were procurable at varying prices according to arrangement. The prodigality of Charles I. in conferring the honour of knighthood and titles of dignity was almost equal to that of his father.

BOOK V.

MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES AT NEWMARKET, 1609–1625.

Works and buildings at Newmarket Palace during the reign of James I. —The materials—Their cost—The workmen employed and their wages—Description of the palace—And its appurtenances—£20,383 laid out on building there in sixteen years—The New Warren—John Bancks appointed custodian—His functions and fees—Cost of pailing—Great Wilbraham—Little Wilbraham—Six-Mile-Bottom—*Sir Robert Vernon* obtains the reversion of the Keepership of the Palace—Succeeds to the appointment in 1616—His patent—His duties and remuneration—1619. The King present at the races—Valuation and taxation, with list of the inhabitants of Newmarket in the reign of James I.—Horses and horsemanship—James I. on riding and sporting subjects—His instructions to Prince Henry—Famous race-horses of this era—Popularity of the Turf—Betting by noblemen and gentlemen—*The Earl of Northumberland*—Importance attached to horse-breeding—The King's four jockeys in ordinary—Their wages and emoluments—The royal studs at Malmesbury, Newmarket, Tutbury, Cole Park, and Middle Park, Eltham—Introduction of Eastern blood—The Markham Arabian bought by the King—Its price—The Duke of Newcastle's comments on this horse—George Digby sent by the King to the East to purchase horses—Their cost—*Sir Thomas Edmond's* Barbary horses at Newmarket—The royal stud there—Spanish asses—Mules and jennets—Retrenchment at the royal studs—Sully's present of horses to James I.—St. Anthony the rider—He instructs *Prince Henry* in the *manège*—The Prince a famous horseman—St. Anthony's remuneration—His emoluments curtailed—Recouped in money—Curious case of *cors presente—Lord Gerard's* Captain—Dispute relating to the horse between the King and the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield—Captain sent to the royal stud at Newmarket—Spanish horses imported by the Duke of Buckingham—The King's admiration for horses and hounds—Horse-breeding in Yorkshire—*Sir George*

Rereshy's stud—Remarkable rides—Sir Robert Carey—Prince Henry—The Duke of Alva—Edmond Howe's riding academy—Famous circus horses—Bank's performing horses—"The wonder of the world"—They perform in Rome—And are burnt alive by order of the Pope—Referred to by Shakespeare and Bishop Hall—Pedestrianism—Account of some curious matches—*Sir Dudley Diggs* endows a race for men and women—Gaming—Restrictions on horse-racing and gaming in Scotland—Act of Parliament thereon—Its provisions, pains, and penalties—Sir Christopher Hatton—The Earl of Pembroke—Twelfth-night at the Groom Porters—Lord Scrope—Lord Walden—Mr. Blunt—Lord Mayor Lee—*Lord Monteagle*—*The Earl of Dorset*—*The Marquis of Hamilton*—*Sir Francis Wolley*—*Lord Scrope*, and other notable gamesters of the period—George Villiers, 1st *Duke of Buckingham*.

James I. 1609—1625. Newmarket. The Palace. 1609—1610.

The following extracts from the accounts of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, preserved in the Public Record Office, show the cost of materials used in works and building, with the money disbursed for workmen, at Newmarket Palace, from 1609 to 1625. The first for the year 1609 is as follows:—"Alsoe allowed to the said Accompt' for money by him yssued paide and defrayed for worke and Emp'cons and Provi'cons within the tyme of the Accompte donne and bestowed in and aboute his Ma^ts^ house at Newmarkett, viz., Masons ymploied in cutting, fitting, and setting fower Chymney pannells in the new pryvy lodgings and laying the Borders of the same: Carpenters ymploied in fitting and setting up of planks for Dressor boordes in the privy kitchen and Larder, Setting up a pti'con with quarter boordes in the privy Chamber at the stayres head by the Chamber of p^r^sence, taking downe and setting up a paire of stayres in the said roome; boording up part of a wall between the Larder and the roome where the

provi'cons are laid; fastning of quarters to the walls for hangings in the new privy lodgings; making three new Doores of Oken boordes one between the p'sence Chamber and Princes lodgings, and th^r^ between the Lord Fenton's Chamber and his Dyning-roome, and the third for the Prince's wardrobe; making of tables tressells formes and Cupboordes and doing sondry oth^r^ needefull woorke aboute the said house. Bricklayers and Tylers ymploied in paving wth bricks a gutter betweene the King's house and the house next adioyning; making a vantle of bricks from the said gutter throughe the Bottlehouse and greate entrie to convey the Rainewater into the old vantle; paving with paving tyles the floores at the staires foote going up to the pallett chamber; paving of div'se broken places in the hall; making of Raunge; mending the broken harthes and Furnace; setting the panne in the Scullery; tyling div'se broken places over the Privie lodgings & over the olde lodgings about the house; Plaisterers ymploied in lathing and laying with plaister of parris & lyme and haire the outside and inside walles ceelings and p'ticons of the newe lodgings, the stoare-house, the pantry, the buttery, the wyne-seller, and the groomes of the privy chamber their lodging. Thatchers ymploied in covering wth strawe the Back-side of the olde house over the staires which were brought up at thende of the lodgings and over the privy kitchin and scullery. Plombers ymployed in laying wth sheete lead the greate Cornish on the forefront of the newe lodgings, playning and fitting of quart^rs^ for footeplates there and helping

to boorde up the pti'con in the p'sence. Sawyers ymploied in cutting of timber into div'se and sondry scantlings; and Labourers attending the said woorkmen & doeing sondry other necessary busynesses there; for p'formance of all wh^ch woorkes diverse quantities of Em'pcons & Provi'cons have been made and bought, the p'ticulars whereof, with their quantities, nombers, and price, as also the chardge of carriage, wage of artificers, woorkemen, labourers, & others ymploied in these services doe hereafter more p'ticularly ensue, viz."

Then follow the different items, the materials used, with the cost of each, from which it appears that four chimney panels of stone cost 16*s.* each; 29ft. 6in. of border-stone cost 8*d.* a foot; timber cost 8*d.* a foot; deals cost £5 14*s.* 4*d.* the 100; ash poles, 6*d.* each; lime, 8*d.* the load; sand and gravel, 6*d.* ditto; bricks, 13*s.* 4*d.* per 1000; laths, 30*s.* the load, etc. The workmen's wages per day were as follow:—Masons, 18*d.*; carpenters, from 10*d.*, to 18*d.*; bricklayers, from 14*d.* to 17*d.*; plasterers, from 14*d.* to 22*d.*; joiners, 18*d.*; plumbers, 18*d.*; labourers, from 9*d.* to 12*d.*; sawyers, 2*s.* 6*d.* the couple. Two clerks of works had 1*s.* a day each. Piece-workers were paid a lump sum for a certain job,—all materials being found by the king. Richard Griffin, for laying 303½ square yards of bulrush mats in the king's new privy lodgings and the noblemen's lodgings, finding mat-nails, pack-thread, etc., was paid at the rate of 8*d.* per yard. The total amount expended on the Royal Palace at Newmarket, in this account, was £457 6*s.* 4½*d.*

In the following year £59 4*s.* 4*d.* was expended on the works and buildings at the king's palace at Newmarket. The articles included timber, lime, gravel, sand, hair, solder, binding-rods, reeds, straw, candles, ropes, nails, ironwork, glass, and glazing, to the value of £27 5*s.* 4*d.* Among the workmen employed were carpenters, bricklayers, thatchers, plumbers, joiners, sawyers, and labourers. Thomas Pointer, clerk of the works, was employed for forty days at 4*s.* per day (including horse-hire). John Pigott received £4 for framing, raising, and boarding a floor in Mr. Bohennon's lodgings in the privy buttery, 16 ft. long and 15 ft. wide, with a new pair of stairs leading up the same, taking down the old roof and raising a new one with a "dormer" window; taking down a partition wall between the privy buttery and pantry, and laying fittings, "he only finding workmanship." Altering a smoky chimney cost 22*s.* For laths, lime, and hair used in the walls and ceilings of Mr. Bohennon's lodgings, 39*s.* 4½*d.* was charged. John Wyatt, the painter, was paid 27*s.* 1*d.* for repairing, stopping, and laying in white-lead, colour in oil, twenty-two lights and double casements, etc., in the presence-chamber, where also some new timber cornices cost 9*s.*, while the same apartment was embellished with four score and nine yards of bulrush mats at an expense of 49*s.* 6*d.* 1611—1612.

In the accounts of money laid out on the palace at Newmarket for the ensuing year, which amounted to £162 2*s.* 8*d.*, the sum ex- 1612—1613.

pended on materials came to £76 3s. 2d.; land carriage, £9 5s. 4½d.; wages, £66 1s. 2½d.; riding charges for the clerk of works and surveyor, £10 8s.; and 3s. 6d. given in reward to the keeper of the clay-pit for "permittinge fetchinge of xxj lodes at 2d. the lode." These sums were chiefly spent in defraying the cost of taking down two partitions between the prince's bed-chamber and the presence-chamber, "for his highness more easy passage from there into thother," and in mending the ranges in the kitchen, tiling over the king's presence-chamber and divers other lodgings about the house, and soldering and mending cracks in divers gutters. The cost of the materials employed, artisans' and labourers' wages are then given in detail, somewhat similar to, and at about the same rates as in, the preceding accounts.

In the financial year of 1612–1613, £85 8s. was spent "in and about his Matie House of Newmarket" in covering vaults, boarding up partitions, setting up shelves, making sliding windows, tables, trestles and forms, screwing and strengthening the floors that were sunk; tiling divers lodgings, setting up pans, and "layeing of Footpaces," and doing many other needful works there with the materials, quantities, prices, carriage, artificers, etc. The items are much the same as before. Lord Montgomery's lodgings were carpeted like the rooms of the king and the prince (? Henry), with bulrush matting.

1612—1613.

For the year 1613–1614, £46 9s. 11d. was expended upon 10 ft. of oak timber at 8d. the foot; 1400 of ½-in. boards at 10s. the hundred;

1613—1614.

and other timber of different thickness; lime, laths, tile-pins, hair, ironwork, nails, glass, and glazing were also supplied. A well-rope for the stables cost 2*s.* 6*d.*, and a bucket for the well 2*s.* Three loads of gravel and sand were bought at 6*d.* the load. The carpenters, bricklayers, and tylers were paid at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.*, and labourers at 1*s.* per day.

The amount of money expended on the royal palace at Newmarket in the following year was no less than £4660 11*s.* 9½*d.* This heavy expenditure was chiefly incurred for building with stone and brick a pile of new lodgings for the king, with a great chamber, presence-chamber, etc., and rooms both under and over the same for noblemen and gentlemen of the bed-chamber, as also for other works done there during seventeen calendar months, commencing May 1, 1614, and ending September 30, 1615. This account is very long and interesting, and covers two membranes. The cost of materials and the workmanship was about equally divided. Building ground in Newmarket was cheap in those days. John Ramsey received £5 10*s.* "in full payment of the absolute purchase and sale of a parcel of ground containing in length 30 ft., and in breadth 19 ft., whereon part of his Majesty's new building is extended, and was taken in to make the said building range straight." * The walls of the

1614—1615.

* In 1617 a further purchase of land, consisting of three roods, was made for extensions to the palace, as appears by the following copy of agreement, etc. :—

"Right trustie and right welbeloved Cousin and Councello', We grete yo" well; and will and comaund you that vnder o' privy Seale being in

new buildings were three bricks in thickness from the foundation to the ground-floor, and from that elevation upwards they were two bricks in thickness. The garden was enclosed with a new brick wall, and 780 square yards of new bulrush matting were laid in the king's bed-chamber, the prince's lodging, the privy lodgings, the chambers occupied by the Earl of Montgomery, Lord Haddington, and Lord Hayes, and certain lower rooms of the new buildings, which, at 9*d.* per square yard, cost £39 17*s.* 6*d.*

The works and buildings at the palace for the ensuing year were also considerable, when the cost came to £2606 13*s.* 2*d.* The new premises consisted of a new brewhouse, "a greate new stable for the great horses," a kennel for the king's privy hounds, with lodgings over them; besides sundry works and repairs about the house and tennis-court; "setting up of div'se posts in the stable close

1615—1616.

yor custidie, yo^u cause o^r £rs to be made foorth in forme following. James, by the grace of God, &c. To the Trer. and Vnder-Trer. of o^r Excheq^r greeting. Whereas Sr John Cotton, K^t, and some of the officers of o^r works, have made composicon wth Reginald Gawen, of Newmarkett, for a small parcell of land, contayning three roods or therabouts, lying on the backside of a house in Newmarkett (commonly knowne by the name of the Star), in o^r County of Cambridge, on wch peece of ground are lately erected a Brewhouse, and a Storehouse for o^r vse and service. We doe hereby will and comaund yo^u out of the Treasurie remayning in the Receipt of o^r Excheq^r to cause paym^t to be made vnto the said Reginald Gawen or his Assignes, of the Some of threescore pounds in satisfa'con for the said peice of ground, w^thout accompt, Imprest or other charge to be sett vpon him or them for the same, or any p't thereof. And these, &c. Given, &c. And these o^r £res shalbe yor sufficient warraunt in that behalfe. Given vnder o^r Signett at o^r pallace of Westm^r, the sixth day of January, in the fourteenth yeare of o^r Raigne, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the fifteth. R. Kirkham.

Endorsed. "To o^r right trustie, and right wellbeloved Cousin and Councello^r, Edwarde Earle of Worcester, Keeper of o^r privey Seale."

for managing of great horses to runne at the ring," etc.*

Workmen's wages had increased. Masons now received 2*s.*, 22*d.*, 20*d.*, and 18*d.* each a day; carpenters, 2*s.* 2*d.*, 2*s.*, 22*d.*, 20*d.*, 18*d.*, and 1*s.*; bricklayers, 2*s.* 2*d.*, 2*s.*, 22*d.*, 20*d.*, 18*d.*, and 16*d.*; plumbers from 22*d.* to 18*d.*; plasterers, 22*d.* to 7*d.*; mat-layers, 22*d.*; sawers, 3*s.* 4*d.* the couple; joiners, 18*d.*; lathmakers, 18*d.*; and labourers, from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 10*d.* Most of the stone used was brought from Northampton; £12 2*s.* 8½*d.* was spent on new bulrush mats for the king's gallery, the withdrawing-chamber, the Lord Chamberlain's bed-chamber, and the apartments of the Earl of Pembroke, Sir George Villiers, Lord Hayes, and the Secretary of State in attendance; the king finding in some cases nails and packthread, and in others "nayles onely." Richard Fann, for looking to and setting the clock, received a present of 8*s.*, while he was rewarded with 2*s.* 8*d.* for cleansing the well and digging it deeper. The new stables and the kennel cost £1704 19*s.* 5½*d.*

In 1616–1617, £2446 3*s.* 0½*d.* was laid out on the king's establishment at Newmarket in building "a faire lardge newe stable for the great horses, a new dog-house with lodgings over it, a brewe-house, riding-house and store-house, as alsoe levelling the tenis-court† with bricks, and laying 1616—1617.

* A sum of 8*s.* is charged for extinguishing a fire that broke out in the timber-yard, which at one time threatened to destroy the palace and appurtenances.

† A specific sum of £100 was paid to Sir George Reeve on May 3, 1615, "to be by him expended for the furnishinge of a Tennis-court,

the same with paveing tyles upon the brycks; thatching the king's hey barne; laying the gutters between the brew-house and store-house; making perti'cons, doores, tressels, and formes; joysting and boordinge of floores, with dooeing sondry other workes and repairs about the said house," etc.*

1617—1618. During the ensuing year only £467 15*s.* 4½*d.* was spent on this palace, chiefly on account of a stable, with lodgings over it, for Sir Thomas Compton; alterations and extensions to the king's great stable; "making great tables, cupboards, tressels, formes, and screens for feasting the Germany prince and Sweden ambassador;" likewise "for bringing up the fence-wall by the tennis-court, and another low fense-wall into the churchyard over against the great gates with brick and stone, and in doing sundry other works upon and about the said house," etc.

1619—1620. The accounts for the following year are not extant, but in those for 1619–20, which amount to £2719 15*s.* 6½*d.*, we learn that some old buildings and sheds towards the street were pulled down and the ground cleared for the erection of additional lodgings of brick and stone, a wooden

appointed to be builded at his Ma^tie^s House at Newmarkett, for the recreation and exercise of the nobility and others his Ma^tie^s attendants, and such as have cause to repair to his Majesty's court. By writ &c. C^ll^." — Pells Order Book, *sub dato.* MS., P.R.O.

* Francis Carter, chief clerk of the works, was allowed 40*s.*, which he gave to Sir William Carway for changing £400 in silver into gold "for the easier carriage of it down, and in consideration it was paid ten days sooner than it was due to the king." He was also allowed 73*s.* 1*d.* for the charges of himself and three others "for safeguard of the same iiij^or^ to Newmarket" (Account No. 55).

gallery, and offices for the prince. There were also a farrier's office and coach-houses built. The woodyard was enclosed with a stone wall. Lodgings and store-houses were erected for the clerk of works. For framing and raising "a roome on the back side of the kinges privy kitchen for the Marquis of Buckingham, with washing, boarding, lathing, and tileing the same, quartering a partition there;" and setting up racks, mangers, and stalls, and other miscellaneous work, including decorations to the ceiling of Buckingham's new lodgings, considerable expenses were incurred. As usual, new mats were provided for the king's chambers, while in other subordinate parts of the palace the old ones were mended and pieced.

1620—1621.

In the year 1620–21 the royal works and buildings at Newmarket cost £975 2*s.* 6*d.* This amount is made up of a variety of miscellaneous items, too numerous and diffuse to mention in detail.* A new well was sunk five fathoms deep to serve the king's and prince's kitchen, for which the labourer was paid at the rate of 5*s.* the fathom. New bulrush mats were supplied for all the principal apartments and stairs of the palace.

1621—1622.

The accounts for the ensuing year are of a somewhat similar description, when £238 2*s.* 8½*d.* was laid out on works and buildings in and about the palace.†

* Twelve cases of glass were ordered from, and refused by, Sir R. Mansil, who enjoyed a monopoly in that article. The particulars are not fit for publication.—State Papers, Dom., James I., vol. 112, No. 67 (780).

† On October 3, 1622, a warrant was issued to pay Sir Robert Vernon £150 for lands and inheritance belonging to the Swan, at Newmarket, taken for building offices for the king's use.—Docquet Book, *s.d.*, MS., P.R.O.

In 1622–23 the sum of £253 2*s.* 6*d.* was expended in mending the wainscot, shutting windows and casements in the king and prince's privy lodgings, planking in the prince's great horse-stable, repairing the rack in the king's great horse-stable, a wainscot casement at the end of the tennis-court and the bins in the king's pantry; setting up shelves in the Groom of the Stole's lodging; setting up ledges on the walls of the great horse-stable, with strong pins to hang saddles; setting up a shed to boil fish for the prince, setting up shelves in the lodgings of the prince's secretary, boarding part of a decayed floor in the wardrobe, making a high stool with steps to ascend the top of it for the prince to run at the ring, making a new hearth and range in the king and prince's privy kitchen, mending the hearths and setting the pans in the boiling-house for fish, mending the chimneys in the great and presence-chambers, running up the lower lights in the dog-house, mending the walls in the prince's gallery, new lathing and laying the walls of the stable in the timber-yard with lime and chopped hay, new matting a room for the Marquis of Buckingham and a chamber for the master of the prince's robes, and piecing and mending the broken mats in the king's privy lodgings and the lodgings of the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Montgomery, and the Marquis of Buckingham. Among other expenses, John Straver and Humphrey Warcup received a present of 22*d.* for carrying letters from Newmarket to London, and 6*s.* to a labourer for his

1622—1623.

attendance during five days at the water-side to see the bricks and tiles safely laid up and loaded at Freckenham.

The works and building at the palace at Newmarket for the following year only cost £187 9*s.* 10½*d.*, and included boarding and mending the stalls broken in the "hunting horse stable and in the Duke of Buckingham's stable;" shoring up the old house on the west side of the court "dangerously shaken with wynds," raising the poles in the dog-yard on boards "in bredthe rounde aboute;" bringing up and finishing the stack of chimneys that served the prince's bed-chamber and other buildings, and mending them "for avoydinge the smoake;" taking up the paving-tiles at both ends of the tennis-court and "new paveinge one end agayne." A bucket for the stable well cost 2*s.* 6*d.*, a well rope, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and a leather for the pump, 1*s.* 1623—1624.

The account for the year 1624–25 (which is the last whole year of James I.'s reign in this series) * for works and buildings at the Palace of Newmarket represents a disbursement of £148 5*s.* 6½*d.* It thus appears that £20,383 13*s.* 2*d.* was laid out on this palace during the reign of James I., from the year 1609 to 1625, being an average of about £1274 per annum.† 1624—1625.

* Compare some fragmentary accounts in the British Museum from 1609 to 1614, sub-tit. Newmarket (MS. Add., 12, 498). Heavy expenses attended the maintenance of the royal stables at Charing-cross, York, St. Albans, Hampton Court, Tutbury, Theobalds, Royston, Enfield, &c.

† L. T. R. Works and Buildings, Nos. 46–62, MS., Public Record Office.

In 1605 John Bancks was appointed keeper of Wilbrahm Bushes, alias the New Warren, alias Hare Park, at Newmarket, and keeper of the game "within ten miles compass of the same," with a fee of 2*s.*, "of lawful money of England," * by the day, and 2*s.* a day for keeping the game there. The following year he was paid £73 13*s.* 4*d.* for "impailing the new warren between Newmarket and Thetford, and for making certain bridges thereaboutts for his Majesty's more easy and safe passage." On November 26, 1607, he received £100, and on June 5th, 1609, £46 19*s.* 8*d.* for similar works.†

1605–1612. James I. Newmarket. The New Warren, alias Hare Park.

In 1612 Sir Robert Vernon obtained the reversion of this office, as also that of Keeper of the Palace at Newmarket, as appears at length in the following patent:— ‡

Right trusty and right Welbeloved Cousin and Councellor wee greet ye well: And will and Comaund ye that vnder or priuy Seale being in yor custody you cause or £res to be directed to or Chauncellor of England comaunding him that vnder or great Seale of England he cause or £res to be made forth patents in forme following. JAMES by the

* "Lawful money of England," so frequently used in grants of this period, became necessary in order to prevent any misunderstanding. The English, or pound sterling, was 20*s.*, while the pound Scotch, to use Sir Anthony Weldon's expression, "would not pay for the shoeing of a horse."

† Pells, Order Book, 1606; Docquet Book, 1607; Warrant Book, vol. ii., 1609, MS., P.R.O.

‡ Besides the fees mentioned in the grant, Sir Robert drew £10 a year "for brooms, shovels, spades, and other necessaries by him provided about the said house."—Wardrobe Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber, bundle 4, m. 90 *d.*, *et ultra passim.*

grace of God &c. To all men whome these prs'ts shall come greeting. Whereas wee by o^r ℔res patents vnder o^r great Seale of England bearing date at Westm̃ the eight and twentith day of Aprill in the sixth yeare of o^r raigne of England France and Ireland and of Scotland the one and Fortith for the considerations in the said ℔res patents expressed did giue and graunt vnto o^r Servaunt Richard Hamerton the Custody and keeping of o^r house at Newmarket in the County of Suffolk. And him the said Richard Hamerton keeper of o^r said house we did make order and appointe by o^r said ℔res patents To haue hold and enioy the said Custody and keeping of o^r said house to the said Richard Hamerton for and during the time of his naturall life together wth all proffits and co̅modities to the same belonging or in any wise apperteyning. And further of o^r more ample grace certayne knowledge and meere mo̅con wee did giue and graunt to the said Richard Hamerton for the keeping of the said house the wage and fee of eight pence of lawful money of England by the day To haue hold receive and enioy the said wages and fee of eight pence by the day to the said Richard Hamerton and his assignes from the Feast of the Annunciac̃on of the blessed Virgin Mary then last past before the date of the same ℔res patents for and during the naturall life of the said Richard Hamerton out of the treasure of us o^r heyres and Successo^rs at the receipt of the Exchequ^r of us o^r heyres and Successo^rs by the handes of the Tres. and Undertres^rs of vs o^r heyres and Successo^rs there for the time being at the fowre usuall termes of the yeare that is to say at the Feasts of the Nativity of St. John Baptist St. Michael the Archangell the birth of o^r Lord God and the Annunciac̃on of the Virgin Mary quartly by even porc̃ons to be paid as by the said ℔res patents more plainly and at large as doth and may appeare wch said Richard Hamerton is yet liuing as we are credibly informed. And whereas also by other o^r ℔res patents bearing date at Westm̃ the sixteenth day of December in the third yeare of o^r raigne of England France and Ireland and of Scotland the and thirtieth wee did giue and graunt to o^r Loving subject John Banckes the custody and keeping of o^r new

erected waren Called Wilbrahm Bushes betwixt o^r^ towne of Newmarket and Shelford in o^r^ County of Cambridge And the office of keeping of o^r^ game of all sortes w^th^in ten miles compasse of the same And him the said John Bancks keep[er] of o^r^ said Warren and of o^r^ said Game there wee did make ordayne constitute and appoint by the same £res patents: To haue hold exercise and enioy the said office and every of them to the said John Banks by him selfe or his sufficient Deputy or deputies during his natural life. And further of o^r^ more ample grace certen knowledge and mere moc̃on wee did giue and graunt vnto the said John Banks for the exercising of the said office of keep of o^r^ hare warren the wages and Fee of two shillings of Lawfull money of England by the day and for the keeping of o^r^ said game the wages and Fee of two shillings of like Lawful money of England by the day. To haue and yearly to receaue the said severalle Fees and allowances to the said John Bankes and his assignes from the Feast of St Michaell-th-Archangle then last past before the date of the same £res patents during his naturall life out of o^r^ treasure remayning in the receipt of o^r^ said Exchec^q^r by the handes of o^r^ treasuro^r^ and Chamberlaynes there for the time being at the Fowre vsuall Feasts of the yeare (that is to say) at the Feaste of the birth of o^r^ Lord God the Annunciac̃on of the Virgin Mary the Nativity of St John Babtist and St Michaell th' Archangell by even porc̃ons to be paid together wth all other allowances proffitts and Commodities to the same offices or any of them due belonging incident or apperteyning as by the said £res patents more plainly at large it doth and may appeare W^ch^ said John Bankes is yet living as wee are credibly in formed. Know ye therefore that wee of o^r^ especiall grace certayne knowledge and mere moc̃on in considerac̃on of the good faithful and acceptable service done vnto us by o^r^ welbeloved Servant Robert Vernon Esqr. o^r^ Avenor, have giuen and graunted and by these p̃ntes for us and for o^r^ heyres and Successo^rs^ do giue and graunt vnto the said Robert Vernon the Custody and keeping of o^r^ said house at Newmarket in the County of Suffolk, And him the said Robert Vernon keep[er] of o^r^ said

house wee do make ordeyne and appoint by these prntes, To haue hold and enioy the said custody and keping of o^r^ said house to the said Robert Vernon immediately after the death of the aforesaid Richard Hamerton or as soon as the said office shall become void by surrender forfiture or otherwise of the said Richard Hamerton for and during the terme of his natural life together wth all the profitts and comodities to the same belonging or in any wise apperteyning. And further of o^r^ more ample grace certayne knowledge and mere moc̃on wee haue given and graunted and by these p̃nts for us o^r^ heyers and Successo^rs^ do giue and graunt unto the said Robert Vernon for the keeping of the said house the wages and Fee of eight pence by the day to the said Robert Vernon and his assignes immediately and assoone as the said Office shall become void for and during the tearme of the naturall life of the said Robert Vernon out of the treasure of vs o^r^ heyres and Succcssors at the receipt of the Exchq^r^ of vs o^r^ heyers and Successors by the handes of the Trs^r^ and Undertrs^r^ of vs aforesaid for and during the terme of the being at fowre vsuall termes of the yeare that is to say at the Feasts of the Nativity of St. John Baptist St. Michaell the Archangle the Birth of o^r^ Lord God and the Annunciac̃on of the Virgin Mary quarterly by even porc̃ons to be paid. And furthermore know ye that wee of o^r^ especiall grace certen knowledge and meere moc̃on haue giuen and graunted and by these presents wee do giue and graunt vnto the said Robert Vernon the custody and keeping of o^r^ new created warren called Wilbraham bushes betwixt the towns of Newmarket and Shelford in o^r^ County of Cambridgeshire. And the office and keepinge of o^r^ game of all sortes w^th^in ten miles compasse of the same. And him the said Robert Vernon keep[er] of the said warren and of o^r^ said game there wee do make ordeyne and appointe by theise pr̃nts, To haue hold exercise and enioye the said Offices and every of them to the said Robert Vernon by himselfe or his sufficient deputye or deputies y^m̃^diately after the death of the aforesaid John Bankes or as soon as the said Offices shall become void by surrender forfeiture or otherwise of the said John Bankes

during his naturall life. And further of o^r^ more ample grace certayne knowledge and meere moc̃on wee haue giuen and graunted and by these presents wee do giue and graunt vnto the said Robert Vernon for the exercising of the said office of keeper of o^r^ said Warren. . . . And for the keeping of o^r^ said game the wages and Fee of sixteen pence of lawful money of England by the day. To haue and yearly to receaue the said severall Fees and allowances to the said Robert Vernon and his assignes ymediately and assoone as the said office shall become voyd as aforesaid during his naturall life out of o^r^ treasure remayning from time to time in the Receipt of o^r^ Exchequ^r^ by the handes of o^r^ Thr^er^ and Chamberlaynes there for the time being at fower vsuall termes of the yeare that is to say at the Feastes of the birth of o^r^ Lord God the Annuncac̃on of the blessed Virgin Mary the Nativity of St John Baptist and St Michaell the Archangell euen porc̃ons to be paid together wth all other allowances p^r^fitts and Co̅modities to the same offices or any of them due belonging incedent or apperteyning Although expresse menc̃n &^c^. In wittness myself &^c^. Under &^c^. And these o^r^ l̃res shalbe y^r^ sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given vnder o^r^ Signet at o^r^ Hono^r^ of Hampton Court the six and twenteth day of September in the tenth yeare of o^r^ raigne of England Fraunce, and Ireland and of Scotland the six and Fortieth.

Endorsed—To o^r^ right trustie and right well-beloued Cousin and Councello^r^ Henry Earle of North'ton Keeper of o^r^ Priuy Seale.—Roll H., No. 88, MS., P.R.O.

Great Wilbraham is a parish and village, about eight miles nearly west of Newmarket. The manors of Great and Little Wilbraham, otherwise Temple, belonged formerly to the Knights Templars, who also possessed the church of Wilbraham. The estate of the Templars consisted chiefly of lands given them by William Loveday, which were held of the king, by the service of finding every year a sore sparrow-hawk, to be brought to the king's court by the proprietor, who had a right of maintenance for twelve

days, with two horses, two grooms, and two hounds. In the year 1545 Henry VIII. gave the manor of Great Wilbraham, with the rectory and advowson, which, after the suppression of the Templars, had been granted to the Hospitallers, to the College of Fotheringay; this college having been suppressed in the reign of Edward VI., Queen Mary gave the manor and rectory of Great Wilbraham to Sir John Huddleston, as a recompense for his seasonable assistance, when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen immediately after her brother's death. Dr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, purchased this estate of the Huddlestons in 1683; it passed next to Mr. Ward, who married the bishop's niece, and was purchased of his family, in 1788, by the Rev. James Hicks, whose descendant, Edward Hicks, Esq., M.P., is the present lord of the manor.

Little Wilbraham lies about seven miles east of Cambridge, and about the same distance west of Newmarket. The manor of Little Wilbraham was held by the Veres, Earls of Oxford, in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.; in the succeeding reign it was held under the Veres by the family of Chamberleyne; it afterwards belonged to Sir William Phelip, and passed by female heir, with the title of Bardolf, to William, Lord Beaumont, who was attainted in 1461. Edward IV. granted it, in 1468, to Richard Quatermaynes, who, having founded a chantry in the parish church of Rycot, in Oxfordshire, endowed it with this manor. After the Reformation, the manor of Rycots, in Little Wilbraham, was granted to Sir John Williams; and having passed by sale to the family of Hinde, was purchased with the advowson of the rectory in 1570, by the Master and Fellows of Benet's College, in Cambridge. The manor of Anglesea, in this parish, was given by Mr. Thomas Wale, citizen of London, in the year 1625, to the corporation of the city of Coventry, in trust for charitable uses. The neighbourhood has been noted for its salubrity, several of the inhabitants from time to time having attained great age; an inscription on a tombstone in the parish churchyard, erected to the memory of Elizabeth Hobbs, who died in 1804, testifies that she lived in

three different centuries, and was 104 years of age at the time of her death.

Six-Mile-Bottom, a hamlet in this parish, was, in the pre-railway days, the last halting-place, with the London racing pilgrim, on the Newmarket road. The late General Hall, at his own expense, erected a school here; also a free library, to which a coffee-room has been added; there is also a recreation ground, enclosed by a double row of trees, and pleasantly situated near the railway station, which are still kept up by W. H. Hall, Esq., J.P., whose picturesque seat forms a pleasing contrast to the general bleakness of the surrounding district.

In 1616 Sir Robert Vernon[110] was appointed keeper of Newmarket Palace and appurtenances thereunto belonging, with a fee of 1*s.* per day; and also keeper of the garden there, for which he obtained the like remuneration, as appears by the following patent:—

1616. James I. Newmarket. The Palace.

"James, &c. To all men to whome these p'sents shall come Greetinge. Knowe ye that we of o^r especiall grace certen knowledge and meere mocon' in consideracon' of the good faythfull and acceptable service done vnto us by o^r wellebeloved Servant Sr Rob't Vernon knight our Avenor have given & graunted and by theis p'nts for us o^r heires and successors we doe giue and graunte vnto the sayd Sr Rob't Vernon knight the Office of Custody and keepinge of our howse at Newm'kett in the Countie of Cambridge, and him the sayd Sr Rob't Vernon knight keep of our sayd howse and of the Stables brewhowses and all other outhouses edifices backsides and grownds whatsoever now built or hereafter to be built there, and which Do now belonge or shall hearafter be belonginge and apperteyninge to our sayd howse we doe make order and appointe by theis presents To Haue hold & enjoye the said office of Custodie and keepinge of o^r said howse at Newmarkett togeather wth the Stables

Brewhowses and all other the p^rmisses to the said Sr Rob't Vernon knight duringe his naturall life together wth all the p'ffitts and comodities to the same belonginge or in anie wise appeyteyninge. AND further of o^r mere ample grace certeine knowledge and meere moc̃on wee haue given and graunted And by theis presents for us o^r heires and successo^rs we doe give and graunte vnto the said Sr Rob'te Vernon knight for the keepinge of the said howse the wages and Fee of xij^d by the daie of lawfell money of Engl'd. TO HAUE and yearlie to receiue the said Fee of xij^d by the daie to him the said Sr Rob't Vernon Knight and his assignes from the feast of the birth of o^r lord God laste past before the date hereof for and duringe the naturall life of him the said Sr Rob'te out of the Treasure of us o^r heires and succesor^s at the Receipt of the Exchec^r of vs our heires and successo^rs by the hands of the Thrẽr Underthrẽr & other officers of vs o^r heires and successo^rs there for the time beinge at tow vsuall T^rmes of the yeare that is to saie Att the Feasts of the birth of o^r lord God and the Natiuitie of St. John Baptist half yearlie by even porc̃ons to be paid And further know yee THAT WHEREAS of late we haue caused a garden to be enclosed, planted and adioyned to our said house at Newmarkett We have likewise given and granted for the considerac̃ons above said And by theis presents for us o^r heires and successo^rs we doe giue and graunte vnto the said Sr Rob't Vernon knight the Office and place of keep of o^r said Garden now belonginge to o^r said house and of anie other garden that shall or maie hereafter belong vnto the said house TO HAUE hold exercise and enioye the said place of keep of o^r Guarden aforesaid together with the premises to him the said Sr Rob't Vernon or to his sufficient deputie or deputies during his naturall life AND further of o^r more especiall grace certen knowledge & meere moc̃on we haue giuen and granted and by theis p'ñ'ts for vs o^r heires & successo^rs wee doe giue and graunte to the said Sr Rob't Vernon for the exercisinge of the said place of keep of o^r Garden aforesaid the wages and Fee of xij^d by the day of lawfull money of England TO HAUE enioye and yearlie to receeave the said Fee and

wages of xij[d] by the day to him the said S[r] Rob't Vernon and his assignes from the Feast of the birth of o[r] lord God last past before the date hearof duringe his naturall life out of the Treasure of vs o[r] heires and successors at the Receipt of Thxcheq[r] of vs o[r] heires and successors by the hands of the Thrēr Underthrēr & other officers of vs our heries and successors there for the time beinge at tow vsuall Feasts of the yeare that is to saie at the Feasts of the birth of o[r] Lord God and the Natiuitie of St. John Baptist by even porc̄ons half yearlie to be paied ALTHOUGHE expresse menc̄on &c. IN WITNESS whereof we have caused theis o[r] Lre's to be made patents WITNESS our self at West'm the sixt day of December in the Fowerteenth yeare of o[r] Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland & of Scotland the Fiflity.

"CARTWRIGHT."

"per b're de pri: sigillo." *

[110] SIR ROBERT VERNON, of Hodnel, in Shropshire, was created a Knight of the Bath by Queen Elizabeth, and made comptroller of her Majesty's household. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Needham, of Shavington, sister to the 1st Viscount Kilmorney. It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the incidents of his life as keeper of Newmarket Palace during the reign of James I. He died in 1625 (at which time he also held the office of Cofferer to the household).

1619. (*N.S.*) James I. Newmarket.

"Martii 19. Cursus Equestris ad Novum Mercatum, cui dum R. diutius interfuit à Novo-mercatu discedens, in Hospitium ad Wichford-Bridge præ invaletudino divertit, & multâ nocte ad Roistonam venit."—Gulielmi Camdeni, "Annales Regni Regis Jacobi I.," edit. 1691, p. 42.

"March 1. Queen *Anne* died of a Dropsy in the

* Pell, Office Inrolments, MS., P.R.O., vol. v., p. 19.

Night: after her Son *Charles* had been to pay her a Visit, *Anno Ætatis* XLV. . . .

"March 19. A Horse Race at *Newmarket;* at which the King tarrying too long in his Return from *Newmarket*, was forced to put in at an Inn at *Wichfordbridge* by reason of his being indisposed, and came very late in the Night to *Royston.*"—"The Annals of Mr. William Camden In the Reign of King *James I. Done into English*, by W. Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough," edit. Lond., 1719, fol.

The following is a copy of the assessment of the first payment of the subsidy granted by Parliament 7 James I., and levied on the inhabitants of Newmarket in 1609.

1609. James I. Newmarket.

NEWMARKET IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE. *

		VALUATION.		TAXATION.
John Bankes, gent.	in land	£10	.	£1 6*s.* 8*d.*
Edmund Milleson, gent.	„	£8	.	£1 1*s.* 4*d.*
Agatha Burdall, widdow	„	£1	.	2*s.* 8*d.*
George Trace, gent.	„	£4	.	8*s.* 0*d.*
William Bottlesham	in goods	£6	.	10*s.* 0*d.*
Jane Apleyard, widdow	in land	£1	.	2*s.* 8*d.*
Raynor Gawyer (in part)	„	£1	.	1*s.* 4*d.*
Robert Mettcalfe	in goods	£3	.	5*s.* 0*d.*
Richard Hanote	„	£3	.	5*s.* 0*d.*
Allen Phillips	„	£3	.	5*s.* 0*d.*
Edmund [*illegible*]	„	£3	.	5*s.* 0*d.*
Johus Pickes	„	£3	.	5*s.* 0*d.*
	Total	£46		£5 1*s.* 8*d.*

Exch. Lay. Sub., Cambridge $\frac{83}{351}$. m. 3, M.S, P.R.O.

* The part of the town is not given in the corresponding assessment relating to Lackford Hundred, in Suffolk.

1624. Assessment of the first of the three entire subsidies granted anno 22 James I. :—

		VALUATION.	TAXATION.
Joane Botlesham, widdow	in land	£3	12s.
Richard Pickes, gent.	„	£3	12s.
Raynard Gawen (alien)	„	£1	8s.
Wm. Phillipps	„	£1	4s.
Rob. Godfery	„	£1	4s.
Richard Sherman	„	£1	4s.
Amos Burges	„	£1	4s.
	Total	£11	£2 8s.

Ibid. $\frac{83}{381}$.

About this time, according to an assessment of a similar subsidy, levied in Newmarket (Suffolk), which is the earliest extant for that part of the town, we ascertain the names of the inhabitants and value of their effects as follows :—

1623.

Marie Bucke, widdow	in land	xls.		viijs.
James Ayres	„	xls.		viijs.
Thomas Raven	„	xxs.		iiijs.
Tymothie Lancaster	„	xxs.		iiijs.
Samuda Pollington	„	xxs.		iiijs.
Sidneyard	„	xxs.		iiijs.
Robert Chambers	„	xxs.		iiijs.
John Mathew	„	xxs.		iiijs.
Jefferie Jres	„	xxs.		iiijs.
John Howlett	„	xxs.		iiijs.
John Bentley	„	xls.		viijs.
John Gamage	„	xls.		viijs.
Thomas Coake	in goods	iij[li].		viijs.
Jeremie Miles	in land	xxs.		iiijs.
John Bridgman	in goods	iij[li].		viijs.
Total in land	£17			
„ goods	£6	£23		£4 4s.

Ibid., Suffolk $\frac{182}{485}$.

What need we know
More than to praise a dog or horse? or speak
The hawking language?

BEN JONSON.

James I. Horses and Horsemanship.

In that quaint effusion, "Religio Regis; or, the Faith and Duty of a Prince," written at Newmarket, by King James I., for the instruction and edification of his son Henry, Prince of Wales, we read as follows: "Next among all unnecessary Things that are lawful and expedient, the Exercise of the Body is most commendable to be used by a King, for maintaining his Health. Certainly bodily Exercises and Games are very requisite as well for banishing Idleness (the Mother of all Vice) as for making his Body able and durable for travel; which is very necessary for a King: therefore you may use Fencing, Tennis, Bowles, Archery, and Palle-maille. But the honnourablest and most commenduable Games that a King can use, are on Horseback, for it becomes a Prince above all Men to be a good Horseman: And use such games on Horseback, as may teach you to handle your Arms thereon; such as the Tilt, Ring, and low-riding for handling your sword. As for hunting, the most honourable, and noblest Sport thereof is with running Hounds; for it is a thievish sport of hunting to shoot with Guns and Bows. Then hawking is not to be condemn'd; but nevertheless give me leave to say, it is more uncertain than the other, and Subject to Mischances. However, in using either of these Sports observe such Moderation, that you slip not therewith the Hours appointed for your Affairs, which

you ought ever precisely to keep; Remembring that these Pastimes are but ordain'd for you to enable you for your Office, to which you are call'd by your Birth."

Indoor pastimes, such as cards, dice, chess, billiards, although not profitable for the exercise either of mind or body, should not be utterly condemned; care being observed to play fairly and not for high stakes, "for otherwise neither a Mad Passion, nor Falsehood us'd of Desire of Gain, can be call'd a Play." Heed should be taken that, in such cases, the company consists of honest persons, "not defam'd or Vicious;" and beware of comedians and actors, "for Tyrants formerly delighted most in them, glorying to be both Authors and Actors of Comedies and Tragedies themselves." Curious advice, in sooth! bearing in mind the well-known fact of his Majesty having a mask performed before him and his court, by command, on the Sabbath. And did not the British Solomon turn Inigo Jones into a stage-carpenter, and offered to create Ben Jonson a Baronet, who would have been known to posterity as the "Rare Baronet" if he had had the funds indispensable to acquiring that great honour?

Ben Jonson mentions the following race-horses upon which wagers were made by the gallants of the day: Puppy, Peppercorn, Whitefoot, Franklin. In the "Alchemist" he sarcastically refers to "the rules to cheat at horse-races." Fynes Moryson, in 1617, mentions betting on horse-races "by no meane Lords sonnes and Gentlemen."—"Itinerary," part i., p. 198. And Markham cites the superiority of the Earl of Northumberland's[111] Grey Dallavell: Grey Valentine, "which dyed a Horse neuer conquered." "The Hobbie of Mister Thomas Carlentons; and at this houre the most famous Puppey

against whom men may talke, but they cannot conquer." —"Calvalrice," Lond., 1617, p. 2.

[111] Henry Percy, 9th EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G., succeeded his father (who was murdered in the Tower) June 21, 1585. He was one of the lords assembled in council, who signed, at the Palace of Whitehall, on March 28, 1603, the letter to the Lord Eure, and other commissioners for the Treaty at Breame, directing them how to proceed, and signifying to them, "That the Queen had departed this life on the 24th, and that King James of Scotland was become King of England, and received with universal acclamations and consent of all persons, whatsoever degree and quality." When the king, at Edinburgh, in answer to the letter of the council signifying the death of the queen, brought by his lordship's brother, Sir Charles Percy, authorized the continuance in office of all the lords and other counsellors of the late queen; he signified at the same time his further pleasure, that the Earl of Northumberland should be added to their number. The earl was present in council on May 3rd, at Broxborne, on the king's delivery of the Great Seal to Sir Thomas Egerton, and attended the king to the Tower of London soon after. His lordship was subsequently implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, and although he proved his innocence, he was, nevertheless, "cast," as recorded by Osborne, "into the Star Chamber," and sentenced to a fine of £30,000, with imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, and he actually suffered incarceration therein for some years. The earl married Dorothy, sister of the Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, by whom he had a son, Algernon, who succeeded to the honours, etc., of his family on the death of his father, November 5, 1632.

James I. Horses.

The importance of horse-breeding is duly inculcated by the author of "The Court of King James," who enjoins all courtiers "to be very

forwardly inclined to bring up horses;" no cost should be spared in breeding from the best strains. He has also something to say in "prayse of hunting," which, unfortunately for us, refers to ancient Greece and Rome, rather than to the British Island of his own time.*

On the accession of James I. the four child-riders or jockeys in ordinary had 6*d.* each per day, with some other small allowance, altogether amounting to £59 a year:—

1603—1604.

Fower boyes broughte upp under ye iiij^or^ Ryders of the Stables viz.

Also allowed for money payde to the Erle of Worcester Master of the horse for thallowaunce of fower boyes broughte upp under the fower Riders of the Stable for their boord waages at vj^d^ the yere ℔ diem and for other necessaries at vj^li^ xvij^s^ vj^d^ the yere ℔ ann̄ due for one yeare ended at March 1603.† lviiij^li^.

As to the royal studs, those at Newmarket, Tutbury, Malmesbury, Eltham,‡ and Cole Park § appear to have been the most important.

* "The Court of the Most Illustrious James the First," etc. London: Printed by Edw. Griffin, in Eliot's-Court in the Little-old-Baily, neere the Kings-head, 1620.

† Accounts of Sir John Stanhope, Knight, Treasurer of the Chamber, 44 Eliz., Michaelmas, 1602; 1 James I., Michaelmas, 1600, m. 88, MS., P.R.O.

‡ In 1620, £70 was expended for enclosing the paddock, Middle Park, Eltham, with pales, which were brought from Waltham Abbey and Theobalds for that purpose.—L.T.R., Works and Buildings, No. 441, MS., P.R.O.

§ 1609–1611, £382 16*s.* 8*d.* was expended, under the supervision of

Several thoroughbred horses of Eastern blood were acquired, from time to time, by James I. The most notable, and one of the earliest mentioned in this reign, was the Markham, which the king purchased for £154. The Duke of Newcastle says: "He was a *Bay*, but a *Little* Horse, and no *Rarity* for *shape;* for I have seen *Many English* Horses farr Finer. Mr. *Markham* Sold him to KING *James* for Five Hundred Pounds (*sic*); and being Trained up for a *Course*, when he came to *Run*, every Horse *Beat* him." *

"Item the xx^th^ of Decem' 1616 paid to Mr Markham for the Arabian horse for his Ma^ts^ owne vse Cliiij^li^ Item the same day paid to a man that brought the same Arabian horse and kept him xj^li^."—"Brevia De Privato Sigillo," vol. iii., fo. 114*d*, MS., P.R.O.

This extract proves the Duke of Newcastle makes a mistake in saying James I. gave £500 for the Markham Arabian; as, including the £11 given to the groom who brought the horse to the king and "kept," *i.e.* fed, him while *in transitu*, together with the £154 paid for the horse to Markham, the whole cost only came to £165. It is probable the Mr. Markham referred to was George Markham, the father of Jervaise the author, who was a keeper of Clipston Shraggs walk, in Sherwood Forest, *circa* 1613.

The following year, George Digby was sent to

Sir Robert Brett, Knight, "Surveyor of the Kings Ma^ts^ Race called Cole park race," Wiltshire, with a "drie wall of sufficient height and strength for the keeping of horses and mares in the same park" (dry = without lime—Halliwell). The wall was to be 7 ft. high, coped above; 2 ft. 2 in. at the bottom; in length 464 perches or thereabouts, and to cost £382 16*s.* 8*d.*, according to estimate. The document is attested by Lord Salisbury, Sir Julius Cæsar, and the auditor, R. Sutton.—L.T.R., Works and Buildings, No. 441.

* Edit. London, 1667, p. 73.

Italy to purchase race-horses for the king, as appears by the annexed warrant:—

"James R.

"James by the grace of God &c. To the Trer and Under Tres of or Excheq Greeting, Wee will and require yow out of or Treasur in or said Excheq remayning to pai or cause to be paide to or trustie and welbeloved George Digbye esq one of or quirries or to his order the sume of fyve hundred and fiftie poundes of lawfull monie of England to be imploied and disbursed by him for provision of horses for us for the Race, And theis are, &c.

1617. James I.

"Westminster, Nov. 4, 1617.

"By order from the Lord Treasuur.
"Ex: Levjnus Munck." *

Besides the above sum of £550, Digby was further authorized, by a Sign Manual, No. 72*a*, dated Westminster, Nov. 20, to draw upon the Treasury for £200, to meet the expenses of his journey into "Italy"—for his own entertainment 40*s*. per day, and 3*s*. a day for each of his four servants, the said charges to continue until he accomplished his mission and returned to the royal presence.

"April 6, 1605, there arrived at Greenwich Palace 'a dozen gallant mares, all with foal, 4 horses, and 11 stallions, all coursers of Naples,' a present to James I. from the Archduke."†

Sir Thomas Edmonds [112] arrived in England with "half a dozen Barbry horses," which were sent to the royal paddocks at Newmarket about Nov. 15, 1617.‡

* Sign Manual Grants and Warrants, 1617, No. 48, MS., P.R.O.
† Lodge's "Illustrations of Brit. Hist.," vol. iii., p. 276.
‡ Chamberlain to Carleton, in Birch, vol. ii., p. 53.

"On the 29th of December, 1617, Sir William Ingleby, of Ripley, Yorkshire, made his will, in which he bequeathed to his 'welbeloved nephew, Sir Peter Midleton a baie Barbarie horse which he now hath of mine.' George, Earl of Cumberland, who died in October, 1605, left this Sir William his 'bald * gelding called Grey Lambert.'"—"Archæologia Ælinana," vol. i., p. 4.

"Count Gondomar, in a despatch, dated Madrid, September 19, 1622, to James I., says: 'Les deux chameaux et l'asne et l'asnesse grandes à propo pour la race et generation je les bailletay à my Lord Digby, qui les enuoyera à V. M^te^ pour les mettre dans le parc de Theobalds;' from which it seems that the king contemplated to breed mules and jenets. The two camels were probably designed for the menagerie in the Tower."—Goodman's "Court of James I.," vol. ii., p. 237.

[112] Sir Thomas Edmonds was descended from a good family, of which the chief branch was settled in Wiltshire. He was born in the year 1654, and early in life entered the service of the crown, under Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. He was Ambassador to Henry IV. of France, in which post he continued till June, 1599. In December, 1599, he was despatched by the queen to the Archduke Albert about a treaty of peace; as he was again in March following upon the same business. In May, 1600, he was one of the commissioners in the Treaty of Boulogne, and after his return was appointed one of the clerks of the Council; and in June, 1601, was again sent to France. On the accession of James I. to the crown of England he was knighted, and in April, 1605, sent Ambassador to the Archduke at Brussels, where he resided till about the end of

* *Bal*, in the Celtic, is white-faced. In the Gaelic *bal* signifies a spot or mark; and *ballach*, spotted. In Welsh, *ceyffyl bal* is a horse with much whiteness in his forehead. Hence the word *piebald*, *i.e.* black and white. *Balius* is a horse with a white mark in his forehead or feet. Procopius, describing the horse of Belisarius, tells us that his general colour was brown, with the exception of the lower part of his muzzle, which was white. *Cf.* Boucher's "Prov. Gloss."

August, 1609; and in May, 1610, he went in the same employment to the court of France, where he continued many years. His long experience and important services gave him a just claim to the post of Secretary of State; but he was not able to procure it, for reasons, perhaps, which did him honour under so weak and corrupt an administration as that of James I.'s favourites. But in December, 1616, he was made comptroller of the household to the king, and in January, 1618 (N.S.), advanced to the treasurership of the household, which post he held till his death, which took place on the 9th of September, 1639. He was frequently elected M.P., but his absence from England on diplomatic affairs precluded him from regularly attending to his Parliamentary duties, which, as a courtier, he did not appreciate, except so far as they might have related to the enforcing of the king's unconstitutional behests. He took great interest in breeding thoroughbred horses; and his official duties on the Continent doubtless afforded him rare opportunities of obtaining the best strains of Arabian blood.

Retrenchment being the order of the day, the king, heavy in debt, and, as usual, prodigal to his favourites, it was proposed "to bring a reformation into the stables;" and every way but the right one was devised to settle his Majesty's pecuniary affairs.*

About this time the King of Denmark sent his daughter, Queen Anne, a present of twelve mares,

* Rev. Thos. Lorkin to Sir Thos. Puckering, Bart., Greenwich, June 30, 1618.

"By Order dated xxiiij^{to} July, 1618. To Monsr St. Anthony, John de Banclier and Julian Bourden his Maties Esquires the some of lxv^{li} ℔^{r}cell of their yearlie allowaunce of two hundred and threescore pounds in lieu of a diett of iiij^{or} dishes of meat form^{r}ly allowed them in his Maties household wch is converted into an allowance of monie payable quarterly during pleasure and Due for the quarter ended at the Feast of the birth of o^{r} Lorde god last 1617 ℔^{r} b^{r}re dat xx^{to} Maij 1616."—Pells, Order Book, 1617–1618, No. 17, p. 18*d*.

which, most probably, were very choice animals,* as we learn from a familiar letter addressed by her Majesty to Sir George Villiers, subsequently Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Salisbury presented the King of Denmark with one of his Barbary horses when that monarch was in England in 1614.

According to an indenture dated October 1, 1619, it appears that the king received by the hands of George, Marquis of Buckingham, "five horse coults of three years old," from George Alsopp, "groom to his highnes Studd & Race of Tutburie." The animals were delivered by Alsopp at his Highness's stables at Charing Cross.†

"The first of August, 1621, there passed through Exon [Exeter] six horses and mares which the Marquis of Buckingham sent for into Barbary."—Diary of William Young, Esq., *s. d.*

"I made a present," says Sully (iii., p. 143), "to the King of England of six beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, and the Sieur de St. Antoine as their keeper." The letter by which Henry IV. introduced this equerry into the service of James is still preserved in the British Museum.‡ St. Antoine was first equerry to Prince Henry.[113] He was afterwards equerry to Charles I., and is painted by Vandyck holding the king's helmet, in the well-known picture of Charles in armour on a white horse.§ This celebrated expounder of equestrian art

* "My kind dog, your letter hath bin acceptable to me, I rest alreadie assured of your carefulnesse. You maye tell your Maister, that the king of dennemarke hath sent me tuelf [12] faire mares, and, as the bringer of them assures me, allgreate with foles, which I intend to put into byfield parke, where being the other daye a hunting I could find but verie few deare, but greate store of other cattle as I shall tell your Maister myself when I see him, I hope to meete you all at woodstock at the time appointed, till when I wish you all happiness and Contentment.

"ANNA R."

—Harl. MS., 9683, 108, 190.

† MSS. Exch., 2 R. Auc. Misc. Equitium Regis, $\frac{366}{30}$.

‡ Harl. MS., 1760, 12.

§ "Anecdotes of Painting," p. 219. This interesting picture has been recently purchased by Government from the Duke of Marlborough, and is now in the National Gallery.

long continued in favour at the Court of St. James's; he dined with his Excellency Marshal Bassompierre in London, November 21, 1626,* and was on terms of familiarity with most of the nobility and gentry of the time.

Henry, Prince of Wales.

113 Henry, Prince of Wales, for some years prior to his death, was a great breeder of horses at Newmarket, where he was a constant visitor.† He had an almost kingly establishment; the officers and servants of his stables numbered sixty-six persons.‡ "The Prince had an early and eager inclination to those exercises, which tend at once to engage and employ the mind, form the body, and add grace to vigour and activity. He therefore cultivated horsemanship with equal pleasure and application, and the art would have found in him its greatest ornament and support, had not death prematurely deprived the world of this amiable prince, and the *manège* of a promoter and protector. He was under the tuition of an experienced horseman, St. Antoine, and received his lessons in a riding-house in St. James's Palace. Several writers on the subject of horses, speak of this young prince's attachment to equestrian exercises, with regard to hunting as well as the *manège*; and mention the hopes that were once conceived of the advantages the kingdom would derive from the studs which he had formed, and the races he had established" (Anonymous, *c.* 1792). Immediately prior to his sudden and unexpected death, Prince Henry was extremely popular at Newmarket, and it was on the occasion of his last visit there that Sir Anthony Weldon observed the incident which induced him to give expression to the repulsive opinion that his Royal Highness was poisoned at the instigation of his father. On this occasion the king, the prince, and the usual court following were enjoying the pleasures of the Heath. The prince having retired early in the day, nearly the whole of the courtiers departed with him; "few being left with the father, and these mean persons, which drew tears from him,

* Memoirs, p. 101.

† Harl. MS., 9683, 69 (123).

‡ *Ibid.*, 252, 11, (192).

but the passion did not last long;" and although he did not forbear to reprove his fool, Archy, for calling his attention to the incident above mentioned—"who, being more Scot then foole, was able to mind one that filled a wiser roome, that it is the religion of some nations, but the custome of all, to adore the rising sun, and contemne him that is going downe."

It is remarkable to notice that the ancient claim of *cors presente* seems to have been curiously enforced, and under somewhat novel circumstances, at this period. Secretary Conway, writing to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, May 17, 1623, tells him that Lord Gerard[114] having left by his will his two choicest horses to the Prince of Wales, his Majesty now requested the bishop, who had taken the best horse as a heriot, to give it up to M. St. Antoine, the prince's rider, and to suffer him to choose another horse, after which the Bishop was at liberty to take the best that remained.* To this letter the bishop replied that, before receiving the king's command, he intended to present to the prince the late Lord Gerard's best horse, Captain, but wished it to be understood that it belonged of right to him, and was so acknowledged by Lord Gerard, and to be accepted as a present from him.† The king was pleased with the bishop's offer to relinquish the horse as a matter of courtesy, and without entering into the merits of the case, expected the animal to be sent to him at once; and on June 20 Captain was delivered to his Majesty at Wanstead, in Epping

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cxlv., No. 14.
† *Ibid.*, May 26, No. 38.

Forest, whence, it appears, it was sent on to Newmarket.*

[1] Gilbert Gerard, 2nd Baron Gerard, of Bramley, Staffordshire, attained the family honours and estates in 1617; he died in 1623. Charles Gerard, 4th Baron Gerard, succeeded his father in 1640. He died in 1667, and was succeeded by his only child, Digby Gerard, 5th Baron Gerard. This nobleman married his distant relation, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Gerard, 1st Earl of Macclesfield, and had an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married James, Duke of Hamilton in Scotland, and 1st Duke of Brandon in England. Lord Gerard died Nov. 8, 1684, when the title devolved on Charles Gerard, 6th Baron, who died without issue, April 12, 1707, when the title became extinct. All these noblemen were more or less connected with the turf and breeders of race-horses.

In June, 1623, the Duke of Buckingham wrote from Madrid to the Commissioner of the Navy, to send to St. Sebastian, a ship capable of conveying home thirty or thirty-five horses, presented to the Prince of Wales by the Spanish Court.† 1623.

The predilection evinced by James I. for hounds and horses is exhibited in the following letter by him sent to the Duke of Buckingham:—

"Sweet hairte blessings blessings blessings on my sweete tome badgers ‡ hairte rootes and all his for breiding me so fyne a kennell of yong howndes, some of thaime so fine and well shaped, and some of thaime so fine prettie little

* State Papers, Dom., vol. cxlvii., No. 17; Harl. MS., 6987, 253*a*.

† *Ibid.*, vol. cxlvii., No. 95.

‡ "Tom Badger" and "Steenie" were used as cant names for the duke, who, in return, styled the king as his "dear dade and gossip."

ones as thaye are worthie to lye on Steenie and Kates bedde; and all of thaime rume together in a lumpe both at sente and uewe [view], and God thanke the maister of the horse, for provyding me such a number of faire usefull horses, fitte for my hande; in a worde I proteste I was never maister of suche horses and howndes; the bearer will tell you quhat fyne running we hadd yesterdaye. Remember now to take the aire discreitlie and peece and peece, and for Gods saike and myne, keepe thyselfe verrie warme, especiallie thy heade and thy showlders, putte thy of Bewlie to an ende, and love me still and still, and so God blesse thee and my sweete daughter and god-daugher, to the comforte of thy deare dade.

"JAMES R.

"[P.S.] Thy old purvayoure sent thee yesternight six partridges and two levrettis, I am now gowing to hawke the pheasant."—Harleian MS., 6987, fol. 101, p. 184.

A curious list of necessaries pertaining to the royal stables, classified under the head of coursers, geldings, hunters, coach-horses, bottle-horses, etc., will be found among the manuscripts in the British Museum (Add. 5750, fo. 150).

It is evident that horse-breeding was conducted systematically in England at this time. In a rare work for the "Order and Government of a Noblemans House," as observed in 1605, the "Officer of the Gentleman of the Horse" is enjoined "to keep a note in a booke when everie mare is coverede and with what horse, and that they bee carefullie looked into before they foale and after" ("Archæol.," vol. xiii.).

Sir George Reresby kept a considerable stud at Ickles, in Yorkshire, about this period. His descendant, Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, records that "his diversion was sometimes hawks, but his chiefest was his breed of horses, in which he was very exact; but his breed was not of that reputation to get any profit thereby, and the keeping of much ground in his hands both at Thrybergh and Ickles, for the running of his horses, which he might have let at good rates, made it the more expensive."* When Sir John

* "The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby," by J. J. Cartwright, M.A., p. 10.

inherited the estates, in the reign of Charles II., these race-courses or training-grounds were discontinued and let for farming purposes. His son and heir, however, is said to have re-instituted racing and breeding thoroughbred horses at Ickles, where, leading a short and merry life, he died in 1701, when that branch of the family became extinct.

> Pr'ythee, speak,
> How many score of miles may we well ride
> 'Twixt hour and hour?
>
> *Cymbeline.*

Some remarkable feats of horsemanship are mentioned about this period.

On the demise of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Carey,* who had been anxiously hovering about the deathbed of his kinswoman and benefactress, set off, with the lamentations of her women still ringing in his ears, to announce the important tidings to King James; an act quite as indelicate as it was unauthorized. It appears, by Carey's own statement, that he must have ridden the distance between London and Edinburgh (about four hundred miles) within the space of sixty hours, notwithstanding he received a dangerous fall from his horse, which retarded him on the road. He rode to Doncaster, a distance of 162 miles, the first night.

Carey informs us, in his Memoirs, that he had, some years previously (1599), won a wager of £2000 by walking in twelve days to Berwick, which, he says, "bettered him to live at court a good while after." The distance is 337 miles from London; but probably in those days it was much greater, and the roads unquestionably were much worse.

Shortly before the death of Henry, Prince of Wales—the Marcellus of his age—he set out one morning early, and rode from Richmond to meet his father, James I., at Bever, in

* Fourth son of Henry, 1st Lord of Hunsdon, created by James I., Feb. 5, 1625–6, Baron Carey and Earl of Monmouth. His Memoirs were first published by John, Earl of Cork and Orrery, in 1759. He died in 1639 (see *ante*, page 138).

Notts, and reached "Sir Oliver Cromwell's, near Huntingdon, by 10 o'clock before noon, near sixty miles, and the next day betimes to Bever, forty miles" (Aulicus Coquinariæ). This was a remarkable ride, considering that the prince was ill, and that he died very soon after.

The Duke of Alva, in the short space of eight days and nights, travelled all the way from the middle of Hungary to Barcelona, on horseback, where he spent the night with his wife, whom he loved with all the ardour of youthful affection, and returned in the same manner, and in the same space of time, to his post before the enemy.

"Henry VII., about the year 1500, had occasion to send to the Emperor Maximilian upon a matter that required haste, and thought no messenger would so speedily execute it as Mr. Thomas Woolsey, at that time his chaplain. He accordingly gave him his errand, desiring him to use every expedition. Woolsey departed from the king at Richmond about noon, and the next morning got to Dover, and from thence the noon following he was at Calais, and by night with the emperor. He received his answer, and rode the same night back to Calais, and the succeeding night came to Richmond. The next morning he met the king, who blamed him for delaying his journey. Woolsey replied that he had despatched his business, and produced the Emperor's letter. The king wondered much at his speed, and quickly bestowed upon him the deanery of Lincoln. He soon after made him his almoner. This was the cause of the first rise of that afterwards great Prelate, Cardinal Woolsey."—Daniel, Rural Sports, ed. 1812, vi. p. 492.

"In 1604, John Lepton, Esq., of Kenwich, Yorkshire, who was one of the grooms of his Majesty James I., undertook to ride five times between London and York from Monday morning till Saturday night; he set out on the 26th of May and completed his undertaking in five days, with no apparent fatigue to himself.—*Ibid.* (see "Rural Almanac," 1885, p. 15).

"On the 17th of July, 1619, Bernard Calvert, of Andover, rode from St. George's church, Southwark, to Dover, when he passed by cutter to Calais in France, and from Calais back

to Dover, and thence rode to St. George's church the same day, setting off at three in the morning, and returning at eight in the evening."—*Ibid.*

In Stow's "Annales" by Edmond Howes, gentleman, London, 1615 (v.v.), it is written, "I will giue the Palme to his Majesties Ryders, and his gallant *Canallerizes*, & to the gentlemen of the *Escuryye*, or stable royall, who are commonly called Quiries, who since the burning of the *K. Escuyery* at Blondesbury, neere high Holborne, haue practised this art at Charing crosse in the Mewes & thereabout and haue beene and are as expert as any *Nepolitans* whatsoever. This art is taught also upon Clarkenwell greene, and was not long since at Mile-end, by Singor Prospero. The arms of this profession be vert, a horse arme, and caparassonnè Or."—p. 895*a*.

Bishop Hall and Shakespeare allude to a Newmarket horse exhibited by one Bankes (a brother of the first keeper of the New Warren) that was taught to perform a variety of tricks, since commonly seen in the modern circus. Both Bankes and his performing horse were, at length, to the disgrace of the age, burnt at Rome, as magicians, by order of the Pope. See Reed's Shakespeare, vol. vii., p. 26.

Pedestrianism occasionally occupied the attention of the king and the court gallants; a remarkable event, upon which there was some heavy betting, about Easter 1618, and is described by an eye-witness as follows: "On Wednesday there was a race of two footmen from St. Albans to Clerkenwell, the one an Englishman, belonging lately to the Countess of Bedford, but now to the king; the other an Irish youth, that lost the day, and I know not how much money laid on his head. The sums no doubt were very great, when my Lord of Buckingham, for his part, went away with £3000, and it is said for certain, there was more than twice as much won and lost that day. The Irish youth serves Sir — Howard, a younger son of the lord treasurer, and the general opinion is, that if the race had been shorter, and the weather and ways not so extreme[ly] foul, our man had been put to the worse, though he had made good proof of himself heretofore;

and 'tis a very lusty, able fellow, but carried it now by main strength, so that the other gives over 'twixt this and Highgate, when he was not twice his length behind him. This story were not worth the telling, but that you may see we have little to do, when we are so far affected with these trifles, that all the court in a manner, lords and ladies, some farther off, some nearer, went to see this race, and the king himself, almost as far as Barnet, and, though the weather was so sour and foul, yet he was scant *fils de bonne mère*, that went not out to see; insomuch, that it is verily thought there was as many people as at the king's first coming to London. And, for the courtiers on horseback, they were so pitifully bewrayed and bedaubed all over, that they could scant be known, one from another. Besides divers of them came to have falls and other mishaps, by reason of the multitude of horses." *

"Sir Dudley Diggs,[115] Knt., Master of the Rolls, by his last will dated in 1638, left the sum of £20 to be paid yearly to two young men and two maids, who on Monday, May 19th, yearly should *run a tye*, at *Old Wives Lees* in Chilham, Kent, and prevail; the money to be paid out of the profits of the lands of the part of this manor of Selgrave, which escheated to him after the death of Lady Clive. These lands, being in three peices, contain about 40 acres, and are commonly called *The Running Lands*. Two young men and two maids run at *Old Wives Lees* in Chilham yearly on the 1st of May, and the same number at *Sheldwich Lees*, on the Monday following, by way of trial, and the two which prevail at each of those places run for £10 at *Old Wives Lees*, as above mentioned, on May 10th." †

[115] Sir Dudley Digges was a member of a family in which talent seems hereditary, for his grandfather, Leonard, was an able mathematician and architect, and was the author of several works on geometry. His father, Thomas, was an

* "The Court and Times of James I." (London, 1848), vol. ii., p. 72; see also Camden's "Annales," *s. d.*

† Hansted, "Hist. Kent," vol. ii., p. 787. London, 1790.

eminent astronomer. Dudley was his eldest son, born in 1583, educated at Oxford. He was knighted by James I., and sent ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy, which was followed by other employments abroad. But his reputation was gained in the House of Commons in the reign of Charles I., and his opposition to the court and the Duke of Buckingham procured his committal to the Tower. The government at last contrived to release him by making him Master of the Rolls, in 1636, three years after which he died. He had a monopoly of the Feversham oysters. His son Dudley and his brother Leonard also distinguished themselves in the world of letters.

James I. 1621. Scotland. Racing in Scotland. Act of Parliament to restrain excessive betting on horse-races and gaming.

At a Parliament held at Edinburgh, in 1621, an Act (xiii.) was passed for the purpose of preventing excessive betting upon horse-races in Scotland, which were, at this time, "over much frequented" in that country, to the great prejudices of the lieges. Cards and dice were also, to a certain extent, interdicted, because the honest man ought not to expect that any winnings at cards, dice, or racing could conduce to his good or prosperity; therefore it was enacted That no man shall play at cards or dice in any common-house, town, hostlary, or "Kuikis houss," under pain of forty pounds money of this realm, to be exacted of the keeper of the said inn, etc., for the first fault, and loss of their liberties for the next; moreover it shall not be lawful to play in the private house of any one where the master of the family plays himself. "And giff It shalhappin anye man to win anye sommes of money at Carding Or dyceing Attoure the soume of ane hundreth merkis within the space of Tuentie four houres Or gayne at waigeris vpon hors' Races anye soume attoure the said soume of ane hundreth merkis. The superplus shal be Consignit within tuentie four houres þairefter in the handis of the thesaurer for the Kirk ef it be in edinburgh, Or in the handis of suche of the kirk sessioun in the Countrey parochines as Collectis and Distributis money for þe Poore of the same.

To be employed alwayis vpoun the pure of the paroche Quhair suche evynning sall happin to fall out and to þe effect that ather exces' in playe may be thus restrayned Or at the leist that excessive winning may be employed as said is OURE SOUERANE LORD by actis of his supreme Court of parliament gevis full power and Commissioun to the bailzeis and magistraitts of borrowes The schireffis and Justices of peax in the Cuntrie To persew and Convene all suche persounes for all wynning at Cardes or dyce and hors' races w^che^ shalhappin to be made by any persoun by and attoure the said soume of ane hundreth merkis money forsaid And incace the magistrat informed þairoff refuis to persew for the same The pairtie Informer sall have actioun agains the said Magistrat for double of þe lyik soume the ane half q^r^ of to be gevin to þe pure and the vther halff to þe pairtie informer."—Acts of Parl., Scot., vol. iv., p. 612; 4to edit. Lond., 1816.

A curious instance of the rage for gambling in those days is mentioned by Sir John Harington.* "Because examples are more effectual often than perswasyons, and to prayse the dead is no flattery, I will alleadge one example, well known to many and thearfore not unfit for this purpose. Who was more magnificent in matters of trew honor, more sumptuous in buildinge, ritch in furnishinge, royall in entertayning, orderly in maintayninge his howse then Sir Christofer Hatton, late Lord Chawncellor? a man taught vyrute, framed to wisdom, raysed to honor, by her Majesties speciall grace and choyce; yet when some ambassadors lay at his howse, (knowinge the generall humor of the meaner sort to love to see great play) whyle hee himself entertayned the cheefest of them with some grave discourse or some sollom musycke, he caused some of his freends to play at cardes with £1000 in fayr golde of his money, ratinge it at theyr owne pleasures at xii*d.* in the pownd, or as they themselves agreed on, that the summes played might seem great, and show bountifull, the substance not unsupportable. Thus you see that, if men will needes have a

James I. Gaming.

* "Nugæ Antique," edit. Lond., 1804, vol. i., p. 210.

pryde in a thinge whereof they may rather be ashamed, yet in this manner of play I recommend to you, both the idle man may have his pastyme, and the prowd man his pompe."

Sir John Harington further records that his grandfather, William, Earl of Pembroke, lost £2000 in one night, "imitating Augustus Cæsar's play, though I will be sworen for him he never read his life—still giving away all he won, and paying away all hee lost." *

Owing to the reputed influence obtained by the Jesuits, through the Spanish ambassador, over James I., a canny Scot named Ramsy, watchmaker to his Majesty, issued clocks at a certain rate of odds to whomsoever chose to gamble in timepieces; they to pay a minimum price for the timepiece, so staked on a maximum alternative, "when King James should be crowned in the pope's chaire." Ben Jonson ridicules the romantic wagers which were then laid, by introducing Sir Peuntravolo, in "Every Man out of his Humour," giving the odds upon the performance of a journey to Constantinople, by himself, his cat, and his dog.

John Chamberlain (a notable "intelligencer" of the period), writing from London, January 8, 1608, to his friend and gossip, Dudley Carleton, says, *inter alia*, that "On Twelfth Eve there was great golden play at court. No gamester admitted that brought not £300 at least. Montgomery played the King's money, and won him £150, which he had for his labour; the Lord Monteagle [116] lost the queen £400: Sir Robert Carey, for the prince, £300; the Earl of Salisbury, £300; the Lord Buckhurst £500.

* "Nugæ Antique," edit. Lond., 1804, vol. i., p. 220.

et sic de cæteris; so that I heard of no winners, but the King and Sir Francis Whooley,[117] who got above £800. The King went a hawking journey yesterday to Newmarket, and returns to-morrow." * On Twelfth Night, 1618, the Marquis of Hamilton[118] won £400, and the Earl of Dorset[119] £500 "at play in the King's Chamber." †

[116] William Parker, eldest son and heir of Edward Parker, Lord Morley, and Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of William Stanley, Baron Monteagle, who had been summoned to Parliament in the lifetime of his father, in right of his mother, as BARON MONTEAGLE, and was summoned to the Upper House as Lord Morley and Monteagle, from January 30, 1621, to November 4 in the same year. This is the nobleman to whom the memorable anonymous letter was addressed, by which the Gunpowder Plot was fortunately discovered. It is said to have been written by his sister Mary, wife of Thomas Abington (or Habington), of Hinlip, which Thomas had been cofferer to Queen Elizabeth. Abington was concerned in many projects for the release of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and contrived various places of concealment in his old mansion at Hinlip. He was condemned to die for concealing Garnet and Oldcorn the Jesuits, but was pardoned at the intercession of his wife and Lord Monteagle. This Lord Morley and Monteagle married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight, and was succeeded at his death, in 1622, by his eldest son, Sir Henry Parker, K.B., second Lord Morley and Monteagle.

[117] SIR FRANCIS WOLLEY, of Priford, Surrey, where he entertained James I., August 10, 1603, by whom he was knighted, at the Charter-house, May 3, same year.

[118] James, 2nd MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, K.G.—only son and

* "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i., p. 71.

† State Papers, Dom. vol. xciv., No. 14.

heir of Lord John Hamilton, 1st Marquis of Hamilton, and Margaret, only daughter of John, 8th Lord Glamis—succeeded his father, April 12, 1604, and his uncle, James, Earl of Arran (who fell in love with Mary, Queen of Scots, and was accordingly declared a lunatic, incapable of managing his own affairs), in 1609. He obtained the English peerage June 16, 1619, by the titles of Baron of Innerdale, in Cumberland, and Earl of Cambridge, and was installed a Knight of the Garter, at Windsor, July 7, 1623. He married Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James, 7th Earl of Glencairn, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. He died March 2, 1625, and was succeeded by his elder son, James, 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton.

[119] Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset—eldest son of Robert, the 2nd Earl, and his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, born March 28, 1589—succeeded his father (who enjoyed the family honours but a few months) February 25, 1608–9; married Anne, daughter and sole heiress of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by whom he had two daughters; he died in 1624, when the honours devolved upon his brother, Edward Sackville, 4th Earl, K.G. This nobleman, before he attained the title, was concerned in a fatal quarrel with Lord Bruce, "upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and attended by two chirurgeons, placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but at the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, when the Lord Bruce fell dead upon the place." This earl (4th) died in 1652.

In August, 1619, the quidnuncs were full of an alleged quarrel between Lord Scrope and a young gentleman named Foster, in which the latter was generally supposed to be killed. Foster had won £1500 from Lord Scrope[120] "at bowls and other gaming, besides his coach and coach-horses: and for refusing to lend him them, they fell out. But the

truth is," writes Chamberlain to Carleton, "there was no such mishap befel, nor any quarrel, only the young gentleman had once won above £5000 pieces, though he carried not half away. And, indeed, I have not heard of greater play than was then [at Henly]; as for example, they played three pieces glick, as ordinary folks used to play two-penny glick." Again, under date May, 1623, he writes: "The Lord Walden hath ill luck of late; for the last week he lost above £1500 in one day at bowls, at Hackney, and £400 or £500 two days before, all of which the Lord of Montgomery carried off the greater part" (Birch, vol. ii.).

[120] Emanuel Le Scrope, 11th BARON SCROPE, of Bolton, succeeded his father Sept. 2, 1609; president of the king's council in the north in the reign of James I.; created Earl of Sunderland by Charles I., in 1627. He married Lady Elizabeth Manners, daughter of John, Earl of Rutland, but by her had no issue. He died May 30, 1630, when the title became extinct. He had three illegitimate daughters—Mary, married to Charles, Duke of Bolton; Elizabeth, to Thomas, Earl Rivers; Annabella, to J. G. Howe, Esq., ancestor of Earl Howe.

Dr. Tobie Mathew, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, expressed his disapprobation of the king spending so much time in sporting affairs, and probably casting reflections on the gambling, etc., at the court, was called before the Council; "and after some schooling, the Earl of Salisbury told him that he was privy to his imprisonment," but, as a special mark of clemency, gave him five weeks to settle his affairs and quit the realm. This "storm in a teacup" soon blew over, and some years afterwards Dr. Tobie Mathew became, by royal will and favour, Archbishop of York.

Parson Hinde, a Puritan writer of the period, severely condemned sports and betting of all descriptions; he regarded

racing as "an exercise of profaneness," and lamented that it should have been "diligently followed by many of our gentlemen, and by many of inferior ranck also," who, "of their weekly and almost daily meetings, and matches on their bowling greenes, of their lavish betting of great wagers in such sorry trifles, and of their stout and strong abbeting of so sillie vanaties amongst hundreds, sometimes thousands, of rude and vile persons, to whom they should give better, and not so bad example and encouragement, as to be idle in neglecting their callings; wasteful in gameing and spending their meanes; wicked in cursing and swearing; and dangerously profane, in their brawling and quarreling." *

"Mr. Blunt, a greate gamester, maruelous franke, and a lelunt cauelier." †

"Three things which make others poore make Alderman Lee, now Lord Maior, rich,—wine, women, and dice; he was fortunat in marrying riche wives, lucky in great gaming at dice, and prosperous in the sale of his wines." ‡

GEORGE VILLIERS, 1ST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, who in many respects was closely connected with the Turf, as an owner and breeder of race-horses, was born on August 20, 1592, at Brookesby, in Leicestershire, and was the son of Sir George Villiers. At an early age he was sent to a private school in that county. When he was about eighteen, he travelled on the Continent, where he acquired a knowledge of the French language, and some of the accomplishments of the noblesse, such as fencing and dancing, in which last he particularly excelled. Soon after his return to England, his mother, who was a sagacious and canny woman, is said to have introduced him at court; concluding probably, and not without some reason, that a young gentleman of his physique and accomplishments could not fail of making his fortune under such a monarch as James I. Another version is that the king first encountered Villiers at a horse-race at Linton, in Cambridgeshire, where the latter "lived in a stable and

* Biography of Bruen. † Manningham's Diary, *sub dato* Nov. 10, 1602.
‡ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1603.

was dressed in an old black suite broken out in divers places." *

According to the general opinion of most writers, George Villiers was indebted for his first step in royal favour to his ability as an actor. It is probable he played many parts, and most likely turned his talents to account at the race-course or the barn (*i.e.* stage) as opportunity presented. In a rare book entitled "A Detection of the Court and State of England," by Roger Coke, Esq., our authority gives the following description of the first meeting between James I. and Villiers: "The King, about the Beginning of March $16\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{5}$, according to his usual methods, went to take his Hunting Pleasures at New-market; and the Scholars of Cambridge, who knew the King's Humour, invited him to a Play called *Ignoramus*, to ridicule the Common Law: Never did anything so hit the King's Humour as this Play did; so that he would have it acted, and acted again, which was increased with several Additions, which yet more pleased the King. At this play it was so contrived, that George Villiars should appear with all the advantages his Mother could set him forth; and the King, so soon as he had seen him, fell into Admiration of him, so as he became confounded between his Admiration of Villiars, and the Pleasure of the Play, which the King did not conceal, but gave both Vent upon several Occasions. This set the Heads of the Courtiers how to get Somerset out of Favour and to bring Villiars in." The writer then goes on to record how the Earl of Somerset was arrested by the king's order at Newmarket, and sent to the Tower, charged with poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and other matters in connection with Buckingham's rise to fortune, with which we have directly nothing to do. Sir Anthony Weldon says that at this time Villiers was indebted to others for the clothes and linen necessary to appear before the king.

Curiously enough, in this comedy ("Ignoramus") the author, George Ruggles, M.A., makes mention of race-courses at "Roystoniensis, Brackliensi, Gatterliensi, and Coddington."

* Harleian MS., 646.

It was first acted before James I. and the Prince of Wales during a visit to Cambridge in March, 1614–15. The edition of "Ignoramus" edited by J. S. Hawkins (8vo, 1787) contains a Life of Ruggles, and a valuable glossary of his "ultra-canine Latin" legal terms. There is also a translation of this comedy by "R. C. of Magdalen College, Oxon," and published London, 1662, 4to.

At any rate, Buckingham's first step to fortune was either made on the race-course or on the stage. His name occurs frequently in these annals in connection with the Turf, in racing, betting, and breeding. His first post at court was cup-bearer to the king. Soon after, he was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, a Knight of the Garter, and, at subsequent intervals, a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and a duke; he became Lord High Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Master of the Horse, and entirely disposed of the favours of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of the three kingdoms without a rival. Well might Lord Clarendon exclaim: "Never any man, in any age, nor, I believe, in any country or nation, rose in so short a time, to such greatness of honour, fame, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than the beauty or gracefulness of his person."

In 1620 Buckingham married the only daughter of the Earl of Rutland, who was the richest heiress in the kingdom. Some have said he debauched her first, and that the Earl of Rutland threatened him into the marriage, but the correspondence which took place on the irregularity does not justify the aspersion. In 1623 Buckingham owned some of the best race-horses in England, and after the fiasco of the Spanish match he imported a cargo of the best Eastern horses obtainable. Owing to the intimate relations between him and James I. at this time, it is difficult to say whether these horses were for his own or the royal stud, but there is very little doubt that many of them and their descendants were in the Tutbury "race," soon after the duke's assassination in 1628.

Buckingham's mode of dispensing court favour at New-

market we have already witnessed. These abuses, and the aggrandizement of his own numerous family and dependents, offended alike the ancient nobility and the people of all conditions. When Charles succeeded to the throne in 1625, the duke continued in the same degree of favour with the son as he had enjoyed so many years under the father. This greatly disappointed certain courtiers who anticipated a change in the mode of distributing emoluments and honours. But Buckingham still gave away all preferments in Church and State; his kindred and friends were promoted in honour, riches, or offices as he thought fit, and all his enemies and enviers discountenanced, as he appointed. But whatever interest he might have with the king, he had now none with the Parliament and the people. His incapacity in command of the disastrous expedition to the Isle de Rhé would have caused the retirement of any other minister under any other monarch; but Charles still retained Buckingham in his pride of place. He ignored the aristocracy and defied the public.

Having returned to England, and repaired the fleet and reorganized the army, Buckingham was about to sail from Portsmouth to the relief of Rochelle, which was then closely besieged by Cardinal Richelieu, when he was assassinated by a soldier named Felton, on August 23, 1628. The duke was then in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The particulars of Buckingham's murder are well known, as it is detailed in all our histories. He was lamented by none save his own followers, while Felton was considered by the public as the Brutus of the time.

BOOK VI.

THE ANNALS OF THE TURF IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I. 1605–1625.

Brief introduction: Newmarket—Chester—The "ancient race" for St. George's Cup—The articles for the bells and cup—The fixture—The entrance fees—The weights—The Clerk of the Course—His functions—The sheriff appointed starter—No horses allowed on the course but those entered for the races—Jockeys riding foul disqualified and committed to prison—New articles—Length of the course altered—The winner to retain the cup for ever—Some further particulars—*The Earl of Derby*—Wallasey or Farndon—Contemporary painting of a horse-race at Leasowe Castle—Described by Sir Edward Cust—Croydon—The races attended by the King—Tumults and disorderly conduct at the meeting—The *Earl of Pembroke* and the King—The former a notable sportsman and turfite—Dignities conferred on him at this meeting—Doncaster—Early notice of this meeting—The stand—The town moor—The course—The officials—Frequency of riots at this meeting—The races temporarily abolished in consequence—The stand and rails ordered to be destroyed—The races revived—Durham—Articles for the gold cup—The course and officials—Visit of the King—Notable turfites—*Sir George Selby*—*Sir Charles Wren*—Racing in Yorkshire—Gatherley—The song of the Gatherley race—Richmond—The cup—Description of the race—Won by *Sir George Bowes*—The entrance fees, etc.—Langwathby—"Belted Will"—*Lord William Howard*—Lincoln—The races attended by the King—The cup—The royal stand—The course partly railed and roped in—The gold snaffle—Foot-races—Salisbury—The gold bell for horses—The gold bell for greyhounds—Coursing matches—New articles—The bell and snaffle sold to provide "a silver cup gilt with gold to be run for ever"—Thetford—The meeting suppressed by the Privy Council—Linton—The races attended by the King—George Villiers introduced to James I. on the race-course

—Derby—York—A race on the ice—Racing in Lancashire—Whalley Abbey, Liverpool, and Walton Meetings—Lancastrian turfites of the period—The *Asshetons*, *Molineux*, *Towneleys*, etc.—Brackley—Carlisle—The royal cup—Paisley—The meeting established by the corporation—The silver bells—The races celebrated in song and elegy—The stewards—The articles—The course—The trophies—*Lord Paisley*—Peebles—Alleged meetings at Theobalds, Enfield, etc.

James I. The Annals.

Our summary introduction to the Annals of the Turf in the reign of James I. commences with Newmarket, where horse-races and "hunting matches" were instituted under the auspices of royalty. Palatial Chester next attracts our attention, where many gallant contests took place for St. George's Cup and other races on the feast day of our patron saint. The articles for the cup and the bells run for on Rodee are exceedingly interesting, from which it will be seen that the riders carried ten stone, and paid an entrance fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* each. The owner of the winning horses had to contribute 6*s.* 8*d.* or 3*s.* 4*d.* to the prisoners confined in the "North Gate," according to circumstances. Security was required from the winner of the cup and the bells for the reproduction of these trophies against the next meeting, when they were to be contested for over again. The sheriff officiated as starter, and if any rider committed foul play during the race, he was to be committed to prison and the horse disqualified in case it won. In 1624 these articles were, in some respects, altered; the race was to be run five times round the course, instead of three times, as formerly observed, and the winner was entitled to retain the prize for ever. It is probable the influence and the associations of the Turf at Chester extended to Farndon, the Goodwood of the Grosvenor

family in the eighteenth century. At Croydon the races invariably attracted an immense assembly of noble, gentle, plebeian, and occasionally royal personages. Disputes and disturbance were rather frequent, and partisan feeling ran high. So also at Doncaster, where the races frequently caused bloodshed, and these disturbances at one time induced the corporation to abolish the meeting. The races at Durham were held in Passion Week, and here also we observe, from the articles for the gold cup, that that prize was worth £50—a large sum in those days. The national sport appears to have been firmly planted in Yorkshire; Gatherly Moor, near Richmond, being celebrated for its races. Other events are mentioned there from time to time, notably a race for a £12 cup which was run for on the 6th of May, 1622, and won by a horse belonging to Sir George Bowes, to which Mr. Humphrey Wyvell officiated as the tryer. In all six horses competed; the place they held at the finish, and the names of their tryers, are recorded, although the names of the jockeys are not mentioned. This is one of the most circumstantial reports of any race found in the annals of the turf in the seventeenth century. Langwathby, in Cumberland, comes next in rotation. At Lincoln the course was railed and corded with ropes and hoops on both sides, for a quarter of a mile from the stand and winning-post. There a cup and a gold snaffle were the chief prizes. James I. attended the races at Lincoln in the spring of 1617. Similar prizes were given and run for at Salisbury. All that is known of the races at Thetford is that in 1620 the

Privy Council ordered that meeting to be suppressed. We find the Turf instituted at Brackley, Northampton, under somewhat novel circumstances. Races were held at Linton and at York. Mention of the national sport also occurs at Derby. In Lancashire meetings were held at Whalley Abbey, Liverpool, and Walton. This brings us to the Borders, and before crossing into the Land o' Cakes, Carlisle stops the way, where the Border meetings appear to have been in a flourishing state, and attended with the social shindies peculiar to all such gatherings at this period. At Peebles the disturbance and bloodshed incident to the races, occasioned the meeting there, in 1608, to be prohibited. At Paisley silver bells were run for as early as the year 1608, when this meeting was first instituted by the corporation of that ancient and horsey borough. The articles for the bell-race are interesting, and it appears the chief steward was Andrew Crawfurde—a name well and honourably known on the Turf in our own time. Horse-racing must have been a popular pastime in Scotland about this time, where the meetings being "over much frequented," and the betting excessive, the Parliament were induced to apply certain restraints for remedy thereof.

1609. Chester.

"The bell and bowl, which are run for on St. George's Day by horses, were provided by Mr. Robert Amery, sometime sheriff of this city, who on the same day in this year brought them down to the Roods-Eye with great triumph."

—"Local History of Chester," quoted by Dr. Ormerod, "Hist.," vol. i., p. 202.

A proclamation was issued by the Mayor of Chester and posted on "the Roody upon St. George's Day," A.D. 1609, admonishing all persons assembled "to see the ancient race" to keep the peace and be of good behaviour. Horses, other than those in the race, were ordered to keep off the course.*

The articles for this race were as follows:—

"Articles to be performed for certaine orders towching the runninge of a race for twoe bells and likewise a cuppe to be runne for at the Ringe vpon Saint George his day, being the three-and-twentieth of Aprill, as followeth,—

c. 1612. Chester.

"*First*, it is agreed vpon that the race for the bells and runninge at the Ringe for the cuppe shall be houlden and kepte vpon St George his day, except it fall out to light vpon Saterday or Saboath day. Then they shalbe runne vpon Monday next followinge, and the warninge by the drum and cryer shalbe vpon Saterday or the day next before St. George day not being the Saboath.

"Secondlie, every man that bringeth in his horse for the race shall put in for to runn for the Bells xx*s.* except him that bringeth in the best bell, which shall pay but vi*s.* viii*d.* and him that bringeth in the second bell xiii*s.* iiii*d.* And he that winneth the firste bell shall haue twoe partes of the money that is laid down. And he that winneth the second bell shall haue the third parte, which is the residue of the money that is putt in. And every one that rydeth shall waye or be made in weight just tenne stone weight. And to be wayed vpon the Roodey in a paire of scales which shall be set vpp neare vnto [the] house where the Maior and his brethern standeth.

"Thirdlie, everie one that runneth at the ringe for the cuppe shall put in ii*s.* vi*d.* a man, except him that bringeth in the cup accordinge to his covenaunte by bounde at the tyme apyointed, who shall put nothinge in for three times runninge

* MS. R. Cholmondeley, Esq., at Cholmondeley Hall, Shropshire.

at the ringe. And whosoever doth take in the first three tymes shall haue the vse of the cupp accordinge to the covenauntes, and soe much money as was put in. And if none do take it the first three times, then shall all lose their money that they put in at the first, and the said money to be given to the Maior for the tyme beinge for the vse of the poore and prisoners of the Northgate. And they all or as many of them as please to put in newe money, viz., iis. vid. euerie man as before is mencioned, to haue all the last money that was putt in and the vse of the cupp as afore is expressed. Provided allwayes that he that shall winne the Game shall pay and giue to the prisonners of the North Gate vs., to the clerke for writinge their names downe iis. vid.

"Fourthlie, the that winne the Bells shall giue to the prisonners in the Northgate xs., viz., he that winneth the best bell shall giue vis. viiid., and he that winneth the second iiis. iiiid., if they runne aboue three horses, and if they runne but three they shall allowe but vis. viiid. to be paid equallie amongest them.

"Fifthlie, he that winneth the said bells and cuppe shalbe bounden to the Maior and Citizens of this citie to bringe in the said bells and cupp every yeare with one or twoe sufficient suerities for the deliuery of the said bells of the same waight and goodness as they were when the receaved them vpp to the Maior or his deputie for the time beinge vpon St George his day, in the Inner Pentice of the said citie of Chester, before twelue of the clock at noone upon the same day, beinge the three and twentieth of April, vpon payne of forfeiture of theire boundes. Allsoe, they shall paye to the clark when they doe enter into boundes for making their boundes xiid. for every bound.

"Lastlie, for givinge of the starte, either Mr. Sheriffes for the time being, or whom Mr. Maior will appointe. And that noe horses, geldinges, or mare shall come vpon the Roodey, but oonlie those that doe runne, vntill the race be ended. And allsoe that the ryders shall not offer one to another any foule play in their ridinge vpon payne of ymprisonment. And these articles and orders to be kept and performed

vnviolated, vpon payne of punishment and forfeiture of the boundes and covenauntes." *

In celebration of St. George's Day, a "Triumph" was composed by Richard Davies and performed in Chester, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales (who bore, among other titles, that of Earl of Chester). After a succession of tableaux the pageant finally assembled on the Rodee, where the "Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of Chester, arayed in their scarlet, having seen the said Shewes, to grace the same, accompanied and followed the Actors. The bels, dedicated as before is mentioned, being presented to the Mayor, proclamation being generally made, to bring horses to runne for the said bels. There was runne a double race, to the great pleasure and delight of the spectators; men of great worth running also at the ring to the said cuppe, dedicated to St. George. And those that wonne the prizes, according to the articles agreed upon in that behalfe, had the same honour thereunto belonging. The said severall prizes being with Speeches, and severall wreathes set on their heads, delivered in cerimonious and tryumphant maner, after the order of the Olimpian sportes, whereof these were an imitation. . . ."

1610. Chester.

"*After the running of the Horses,* Fame *speakes:*

"With rich characters of resplendent gold,
Fame hath your names within her booke enrold;
Which, till Time stays his course, shall glitter bright,
Maugre detraction and fell Envie's spright.

* Hist. MSS., Coss. Report V., p. 342.

"BRITAINE, *to him that wan the best Bell:*

"In signe of victory which thou hast gain'd,
This wreathe by thy faire front shall be sustain'd;
Whose green-leav'd branches unto Fame shall tell
That thou didst best deserve the better Bell." *

"William Robert Wall alderman dyed in march & William Stanley E. of Darby [121] chosen Alde'm̄ in his place the friday after.

1609. Chester.

"St. Georges Bells, and race of Runinge horses, wth other pleasante shewes sett out, now Invented, by one m^r^ Roberte Amerye Iremongor and some tymes sheriff & borne in this Cittye, all at his Coste. *with the diall* (22 *strikers*) *now at St. peters church.*" †

1610. St. George's Race.

[121] William Stanley, 6th EARL OF DERBY, K.G. This nobleman, who bought from his nieces their claims to the Isle of Man, was a notable turfite of the period and a prominent patron of rural sports in the Western Counties. He took a special interest in the turf at Chester and Farndon. In the city of Chester he "made a fair cock-pit under St. John's in a garden by the water side to which resorted gentlemen from all parts and great cocking was used there a long while." The game-cocks of the Knowlsey breed were famous in the pits of the three kingdoms for nearly three hundred years. This justly celebrated breed were (alas! and more's the pity) exterminated by order of the 15th and present earl, who is so full of the milk of human kindness. But in the days of the 6th earl this "sport of the gods" flourished under his patronage at Chester, and there were fought many mighty mains, devised in those guileless times, as old Burton hath it, "to avoid idleness," although later on in the seventeenth century

* Nichols' "Progress of James I.," vol. ii., pp. 295–306.

† The words in *italics* are in a different, and probably more recent, hand. MSS. R. Holme (Chester Collections), Harleian, 2125, fol. $\frac{222}{46}$.

estates were wont to change owners on the issue of a single battle. At the period in question (*circa* 1619) Chester was a notable centre for horse-racing, hunting, pedestrianism, archery, bull-baiting, cocking, and similar national pastimes (Harleian MSS., 2125). This Earl William succeeded his brother, April 15, 1594; he married, June 26, in the same year, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, and had, with four daughters, two sons—James his heir, and Robert; he died in 1642.

"John Creceton Inkeep { Christop Clease mercer / Willm̃ fisher Inkeep.

"This maior Caused first St Geo Race on Roodey the 23 Aprell 1624 to be begone at the poynt beyond new tower & to Run 5 tymes about the Roodye & he that wan the last Course or Trayne to haue the bell of a good value of 8 or 10^li or thereabout to haue it for euer: wch moneys was collected of cittisens to a some for same purposse the 3 former bells of Mr Amoryes beinge sould & a 100^li more gathered the vse thereof to find a Cupp.

1623. Chester.

"He caused the new tower gate to be enlarged for the sayd horsrace wch before was but a small gate for the rome of 3 horses to run in brest & caused the gutters to be filled in the Roodey wch the muck hill called the pudinghill at the gate." *

"We are told," says Strutt, "that in the last year of James I., John Brereton, inn-keeper, Mayor of Chester, first caused the horses entered for this race, then called *St. George's race*, to start from the point beyond the new tower; and appointed them to run five times round the *roody;* 'and he,' says my author—probably the younger Randel Holme—'who won the last course or trayne, received the bell, of a good value, of eight or ten pounds, or thereabouts, and to have it for ever; which monies were collected of the citizens, to a sum for that purpose.'" †

1624. Chester.

* MS. Harleian, 2125, fo. $\frac{307}{125}$. According to Omerod, John Brerton was mayor, and Christopher Blease and William Fishere, sheriffs, of the City of Chester in 1623.

† Strutt adds that, "By the author's having added, that the winner of

The following description of a picture of horse-racing "in the seventeenth century," preserved at Leasowe Castle, near Birkenhead, Cheshire, was communicated by the late Col. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, Bart., K.C.H., F.R.S. (to whom it belonged), to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and published in the 1st vol. of their Proceedings: Liverpool, 1849, pp. 143–145.

c. 1605. Qy. Wallacy or Farndon?

"This picture represents the sport of horse-racing in the seventeenth century. As a work of art it is below mediocrity, but the authenticity of its antiquity is evidenced by some details, which prove it to be genuine. The scene of the background is uncertain, but probably a remarkable hill in the distance may make it known to any one well versed in topography, who has travelled much in England. The trees would not put to shame those of our Hundred of Wirrall; but there is no pretension to suppose that there is any *certain* connection between the scene of this picture and this immediate neighbourhood; indeed, the scene may be altogether ideal.

"The race appears awkwardly represented, inasmuch as the winning-post is placed between the contending horses. The jockeys are singularly dressed, but are distinguished from each other by the colour of the jacket and cap, as at this day. In the group to the right of the picture, King James I. is easily recognized in a bonnet and ruff; and in a position in front of the crowd, but amongst those who follow, one appears to be smarter—both horse and rider—is thought to be the king's son, Prince Charles. To the left of the picture is seen a nobleman, or country gentleman, with one attendant. What is the most interesting in the several

this race was to have the bell, and *and have it for ever*, is implied, that it had formerly been used as a temporary mark of honour, by the successful horseman, and afterwards returned to the corporation; this alteration was made April 23, A.D. 1624."

groups, is the *costume* of the persons represented, which is no doubt faithful, however rudely painted. The coats, hats, and leggings are all unlike anything of modern times. The habit of carrying swords, even to their private recreations, may probably have continued to a much later period than the beginning of the seventeenth century, which is assigned to this representation; but under the peaceful reign of James it had probably degenerated into a mere form. Thus, while the king appears only to carry a sword-*hilt* (for no scabbard is to be distinguished), the gentleman on his left has his sword carried for him by a running footman. The man in the tree, apparently cheering on the winning horse, is probably a specimen of the common peasantry of the time, with neither shoes nor stockings; whilst the falling horseman is probably a squireen or yeoman, or mere farmer, being a character known at that period; all probably proprietors, though not of gentle blood. In the background is seen the royal carriage, capable, from its size, to contain all the attendants, in which two gentlemen may be perceived sitting very formally on the back seat. A lady, very conspicuous at the window, is probably intended to represent the queen, although it has no resemblance to Anne, consort of James I. The coachman is in scarlet, driving a single pair of horses, and two outriders may be seen in the short cloak of the period, also in scarlet. Still further in the distance may be seen two horses in their body clothing, either walking about between the heats or coming forward for another race.

"It is sufficiently singular that a sport so truly and exclusively national as horse-racing should be so little known to the national literature. Until within these few years, no work existed on the subject, as far as can be traced from the catalogue of the library of the British Museum. It is believed that the two Palatinates may be jointly regarded as the cradle of the sport. In King's 'Vale Royal' is inserted a description of the Hundred of Wirrall, by Webb, dated about 1605, in which the situation of Leasowe Castle is distinctly noticed, at that time a racing-ground already well established. 'There lie those fair sands or *leasowes*, on which the gentry do oft-

times try the speed of their horses, and venture no small sums thereupon.' With the puritanic habits and opinions of the Commonwealth, all such amusements were discontinued; but within the first year of the restoration, a notification appears in the public prints, from the Earl of Derby, describing a course of four miles long in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, as well suited to the sport, and inviting persons to send their horses to it. This is believed to have been the Leasowe course. . . .

"The castle is supposed to have been erected by the Earl of Derby, of Queen Elizabeth's time—who was the great proprietor and lord of the manor of the parishes of Wallacy and Bidstone—for the express purpose of witnessing the sport. Its form, an octagon with turrets on the alternate faces, and windows on every side of the building, was favourable for commanding a view of the course in every direction. At that time it stood above the level grass sward extending for two miles on either side of it. It is not known what other *gentleman's racecourse* existed before King James' reign, in whose time Newmarket first came into vogue. . . . A cup was very early introduced as the prize for which gentlemen sportsmen contended, and there is a very interesting example of one as early as the seventeenth century, in the possession of Mr. Curtis, of Liverpool."

We can find no direct reference relating to the presence of James I. at any race-meeting in Cheshire, or the adjoining counties; nevertheless he may have attended at some such improvised race, as depicted in the Leasowe picture, during his return from Scotland through Cheshire. As the king and court were entertained at Farndon by Richard Grosvenor, junior,* whom he knighted there, August 17, 1617, it is very likely this was the locality and the occasion of the curious artistic

* In the lifetime of his father, Sir Richard Grosvenor.

production in question. As we shall subsequently see, Farndon became a popular race-meeting later on in the seventeenth century.

"Great horse-racing" came off at Croydon during the Easter holidays, A.D. 1611. The king and the court were present, and an immense assembly of nobility, gentry, and the public, "where by occasion of foul play or foul words, one Ramsey [probably Lord Haddington], a Scottishman, struck Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, with his riding rod."[122] Whereupon the whole company was ready to go together by the ears, and like enough to have made it a national quarrel. But for want of weapons it was pacified."* "The begarly Scotch" were so disliked in England at this time that it is said King James (*viva vocia*) made this Philip Herbert a knight, a baron, a viscount, and an earl on the spot, for the loss of reputation he sustained by not offering to strike again, whereby it is probable a tumult was avoided.†

1611. Croydon. (Monday March 10.)

It is remarkable to notice the frequent allusion to the detestation in which the Scots were held by the English in the reign of James I. The offensive arrogance of the king's Caledonian followers almost produced an insurrection in 1612, when "the Scottish-men were bodily afraid." Three hundred of them left London for Scotland within ten days, in fear of their lives. A Scotch knight having been buried, with almost regal

* Chamberlain to Carleton: "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i.

† "Traditional Memorials of the Reign of King James," by Francis Osborne, ch. 23.

ceremonies, at the king's command, in Westminster Abbey, the butchers of Clare Market buried a dead dog in Thoulhill fields as a satire on the Scotch knight's obsequies, whereupon the king ordered the butchers to be whipped, but they escaped Scot free for lack of executioners. On another occasion, when one of those impecunious and importunate persons complained to James that they were called "beggarly Scotch," the king replied, "Bide a wee, mon, and a' sene mak' them as puir as yoursel'." At the Universities the dons refused to admit them, on the plea (which was legally correct) that they were "aliens." However, they managed to get all the good things that were given away by the court, and they ruled the roast until the rise of Buckingham somewhat checked their "conquests." They were lampooned and satirized continually somewhat in the style of the subjoined lines:—

> They beg our goods, our lands, our lives;
> They whip our Nobles, and lie with our Wives;
> They pinch our Gentry, and send for our Benchers;
> They stab our Seargeants, and pistol our Fencers.
> Leave off, proud Scots, thus to undo us,
> Lest we make as poor as when you came to us!
>
> Birch MS., 4175.

Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the "memorable simpleton" of Walpole, was one of the first acknowledged favourites of King James, after his accession to the English throne. His handsome face, his love for dogs and horses, and especially his taste for hunting, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to that monarch.

The earl was an expert horseman, and seems to

have shared the success of his brother in the tournaments and other sports of the period. We find

> The Herberts, every cockpit-day,
> Do carry away
> The gold and glory of the day.

With this nobleman's political career we have nothing to do beyond remarking that Butler celebrates the earl's apostasy in some humorous lines in which reference is made to his sporting predilections:—

> His hawks and hounds were all his care,
> For them he made his daily pray'r,
> And scarce would lose a hunting season,
> Even for the sake of darling treason.

[122] Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, brother of William, the 3rd earl, was elevated to the peerage, as above related, as Baron Herbert, of Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey, county Kent, and EARL OF MONTGOMERY. His lordship was installed a Knight of the Garter in 1608, at which time he was one of the Gentlemen of the Chamber to the king. He was Lord-Chamberlain of the Household to Charles I., and Chancellor of the University of Oxford before he joined the patriotic party. He married, first, Susan, daughter and eventually co-heiress of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had issue Charles, Philip (successor to his father), William, James, John, and Anne Sophia. He married, secondly, Anne, only daughter and heiress of George, Earl of Cumberland, Duchess-Dowager of Dorset, but had no other issue. He died in 1655.

Apropos of the pugnacious disposition so frequently displayed by a certain class of rowdies frequenting the race-courses in those days, Richard Brathwait, Esq., in "The English Gentleman" (London, 1630), cautions his readers to avoid such querulous persons. "For these *firie Spirits*," he says, "who have *Thersites*

tongue and *Antæus* hand, are dangerous to consort with; for they seldom resort to any meeting, but either they doe hurt, or receive it. So as, even in those tolerable *Recreations of Horse-races, Cockings, Bowlings, &c.*, you shall ever see those throw one bone or other to make differences amongst men of qualitie and ranke, wherin they will be sure to be interested as *Seconds*, if not as principall *Agents*. My advise there is," he continues, "that you avoid their company, as disturbers of the pulicke peace, interrupters of all honest *Recreations*, and profest enemies to all civil societie. But wee have insisted too long upon them, therefore wee will returne to our former discourse."

"The division of the Common betwixt Doncaster and Wheatley [occurred in] 1611.

"Miller states that, '1611, Hugh Childers,* mayor. In this year a division was made in the Common betwixt Doncaster and Wheatley.' **Doncaster.**

"'1614, June, 1*s.* 6*d.* were paid to Anthony Hogg for makinge the waye at the horse race.' There is every probability that there would be a wooden stand of some description at that period, not for the public, but for officials; as would appear from the rude representations in the woodcuts of early race-lists. In one, a stand at the winning post contains the judge—with a flag in his hand—and two men, probably the stewards; and at the distance post a smaller box or stand, with a man holding a flag. **1614.**

* "Carr House. About half a mile from the town stands this old mansion, which for several generations was the residence of the family of Childers. The house was built in 1604, by Hugh Childers, Esq., who was Mayor of Doncaster in 1604 and 1611, and was the ancestor of the Childers. Leonard Childers, Esq., bred at Carr House the race-horse known as Flying Childers."—"Hist. Notes," p. 11.

"In a plan of 1595, a former race-course and the present one, with parts of adjoining lands, are called 'Wheatley More' intersected by a path 'grene gat from Doncaster to Tandall;' at the end of which is furnished the information that 'Heare Whestlay get their truffe.' The great North Road is not market, but a notice is given 'London Way, or small brygges,' with a 'Brackenbed' and 'Whinny-hill' to the left, and to the right, the place where 'Doncaster trespass in graving of turffe.' 'The London Way' is again given further south across 'Cantley comon,' but without any line showing the road."

1595.

"In a deed dated May 24, 1631, is mentioned some land in Long Newton (now known as Doncaster or the Town Field), between the lands of Hugh Childers east and the balke leading betwixt the Sandpitts wynde myll *and the Stand on the More* west, H. Childers south, and the Hades [ridges of land] north. This stand may have been situate nearly where the Grand Stand is at present; but with a 'stoope' for a starting-post, a tumbril-shaped wooden stand for the Judge; the course not bounded with posts and rails, with the More and other common beyond, the whole affair was easily removable."—"Historical Notes," by W. Sheardown, Esq., J.P.

1631.

"It appears that the races were frequently conducted in a riotous and disorderly manner; and provocation passing between the partisans of particular horses too often produced a fatal termination, which the prevailing custom of wearing swords tended to promote, led the Corporation of Doncaster to make the following order:—

1615.

'1615, June 6. Forasmuch as it plainely appeareth by divers accidents and inconveniences past, that the race on Doncaster More hath brought and bred many caires and sutes wch tendeth to the great damage and prejudice of the Corporacon, and quarrells and other inconveniences have by occasion of this Race bene stirred upp, therefore for the preventinge of sutes, quarrels, murders, and bloodsheds that may ensue by the contynuinge of the said race, it is agreed that the stand and stoopes shall-be pulled upp and

imploied to some better purpose, and the race to be discontinued.'

"This order is signed by Thomas Colson, Maior; Hugh Childers, Alderman; Henry Riley, Robt. Roiston, and thirteen others of the Corporation.

"However, the stand was soon after re-erected, when it is beyond doubt the races were revived. Thus in February, 1616-17, 12*d.* was paid 'for making a way for the horse race at the water gapp.'"—*Ibid.* 1617.

"Mem. quod Thomas Robson, de Bushop Auckland, et Johannes Bainbrigge de Whetleyhill, Gen. venerunt coram Ricardo Hutton, Servienti ad Legem, Cancellar. Dunelm. et recogn. se debere Georgio Selbie et Carolo Wrenn, militibus, centum marcas legalis monete Angliæ, &c., 20 Dec., 11 Jac., 1613. 1613. Woodham-moor, Durham.

"The condicon of this recognozance is such, that whereas divers of the knights and gentlemen of this countie have delivered over into the handes and custodie of the above bounden Thos. Robson, the sum of fiftie pounds as a stock collected and provided for the yearely bringing in of a *peece of plate* for a *hunting prize*, to be ridden for at *Woodham Stowpes* yearely, upon the Tuesday next before Palme Sunday, and soe to be contynued. If, therefore, the above bounden Thomas Robson and John Bainbrigge, or either of them, their heirs, &c., shall yearelie during the life of the above bounden Thomas Robson, bring and present, or cause to be brought and presented, to the now usual weighing place upon Woodham-moore, yearely upon the Tuesday next before Palm Sunday, a peece of *gold and silver plate in the form of a bowle or cupp*, or such like forme, of the value of seven pounds at the lease for a *hunting prize*, to be ridden for at Woodham Stowpes, there to be disposed of according to the articles thereof made and agreed, &c., and also the next Tuesday before Palm Sunday, w^h^ shall happen after the death of the above bounden Thomas Robson, &c., and also shall bring and present the same day, the some of fiftie pounds of lawful English money, being the stock aforesaid, to be paid over to the said Sir George Selbie[123] and Sir

Charles Wrenn,[124] or the survivor, &c., to be further disposed of as they the said Sir George and Sir Charles, or the survivor, &c., shall think fitt for the contynuance of the said prize, according to the true meaning and intent of certeyne articles made and agreed upon by the knights and gentlemen of this county, for the contynuance and tryall of the said prize; and if anie controversie doe arise touching the premisses, if then they and ev[er]y of them doe performe such order as by the Temporall Chauncelor of this County shal be sett downe—then this recognizance to be void," etc.

"*Note*—That no ale was brewed for the King at Durham Castle till the fifth day of April, 1617; and on Saturday the tenth of the same April, the King came to the Castle; and on Monday the next following the King travelled from the Castle to Woodham-moor, to a horse race,* which was run by the horses of William Salvin and Master Maddocks,† for a gold purse, which was intended to have been on the 8th of April, but on account of the King's coming, was put off till the 21st, which match the King saw."

1617.

"Mr. Topp Heath, of Eden, Gentleman, dying upon Mainsforth-moor, coming fro' a horse-race and was buried 1st April 1620."—Startees, "Hist. Durham," vol. iii., p. 333.

1620.

[123] Sir George Selby, eldest son of William Selby, Esquire, of Newcastle, was sheriff of that borough in 1594, and mayor in 1600, 1606, 1611, and 1622. Sir George was knighted by James I., whom he had the honour of entertaining during his various progresses northwards, and was, in consequence, generally distinguished by the title of "the King's host." Indeed, Sir George's splendid hospitality seems to have been a very leading feature in his character, and not forgotten in his epitaph. He died on the 25th of March, 1625, aged sixty-eight. His splendid monument was removed several years ago, and only underwent the fate of a still more illustrious

* Hippodromum. † Rowland Madokes, Esq., of Skermingham.

memorial, the cenotaph of the fourth Percy, Earl of Northumberland (murdered at Cockledge in 1489), which was removed to make way for the Selbys'—*Sunt ipsis eticum*, etc. The Selbys were connected by marriage with some of the most notable Turfites of the seventeenth century, including the Fenwicks, Mostyns, etc. Five individuals of this family obtained the honour of knighthood from James I., viz. Sir William Selby of Breddleston; Sir George, "the King's host;" Sir William of Winlaton; Sir William of Motte, and Sir John of Twisel.

[124] Sir Charles Wren, Knight, seated at Binchester, was, about this time, Constable of Raby Castle, and keeper of the park there. He appears to have sold his office to Sir William Gascoigne, without permission or assent of the Secretary of State, or the Bishop of Durham, which was productive of some quaint pleadings between Sir Charles Wren, Sir George Freville, the Earl of Salisbury, and Bishop Hutton. Even the wisdom of the king was ineffectual in bringing the dispute to an amicable adjustment. It reverted, at last, to the simple rule, the good old plan, that he should keep who hath the power, and he should hold who can.

Gatherley.

"Sir William Webb was altogether in the north, where this summer-horse had the honour to carry away the bell at Gusterly race; and himself, newly mounted on a well-ridden filly . . . is likely to pay his old debts *in herbe* or *en gerbe*, or both . . ."—Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, Sept. 9, 1613. "The Court and Times of James I.," vol. i.

Gatherley Moor.

At this time, Gatherley Moor, not far from Richmond, was one of the most celebrated places in the north of England for horse-racing, as appears from the following curious old racing song:—

You heard how Gatherly race was run,
What horses lost, what horses won,
And all things else that there was done,
That day.

Now for a new race I shall you tell,
Was neither run for bowl or bell,
But for a great wager, as it befell,
Men say.

Three gentlemen of good report,
This race did make, to make some sport ;
To which great company did resort,
With speed.

To start them then they did require,
A gallant youth, a brave esquire,
Who yielded soon to their desire
Indeed.

They started were, as I heard tell,
With, now St. George ! God speed you well !
Let every man look to himsel,
For me.

From Severn-Hill to Popleton Ash,
These horses run with spur and lash,
Through mire and sand, and dirt, dish, dash,
All three.

Bay Corbet first the start he got
A horse well known, all firey hot ;
But he full soon his fire had shot,
What tho'?

For he was out of graith so sore,
He could not run as here-tofore,
Nor ne'er will run so any more,
I throw.

Grey Ellerton then got the lead,
A gallant beast, of mickle speed ;
For he did win the race indeed ;
Even so.

Grey Appleton the hindmost came,
And yet the horse was not to blame,
The rider needs must have the shame,
For that.

For tho' he chanc'd to come behind,
Yet did he run his rider blind ;
He was a horseman of the right kind,
That's flat.

For when the race was past and done,
He knew not who had lost nor won ;
For he saw neither moon nor sun
As then.

And thus the race is at an end,
And so farewell to foe and friend ;
God send us joy unto our end,
Amen.

The following quaint description of a race for a cup run for at Richmond, May 6, 1622, is copied from the municipal records, and printed by Mr. Clarkson in his "History of Richmond" (p. 282) :—

1622. Richmond, Yorkshire.

"A new maid race upon Rychmond Moore of iiii myles, sett forth and measured by Mr. James Raine, Alderman, and Mr. John Metcalfe, and many other gentlemen and goodfellowes the vith. of May. And further the said James Raine, Alderman, with his brethern, hath maid up a sume of xii poundes for to buy a free cupp for those knights, gentlemen, or good-fellowes that were disposed to have horses or mares to run for the same. Allwayes provided that the knights, gentlemen and goodfellows that have horses or mares to run, havyng the cupp free to their own disposition, must make upp the value of the said cupp, to renue the same for the next yeare.

"Whereas the names in order as they came this present year 1622, was as followeth, John Wagget onely the starter.

Imprimus—Sir George Bowes[125] . . . . his horse, 1
„ Mr. Humphrey Wyvell, his tryer.
„ Mr. Thomas Bowes . . . . . his horse, 2
„ Mr. Christ. Bollmer, his tryer.
„ Mr. Francis Broughe . . . . his horse, 3
„ Mr. Matt. Rymer, his tryer.
„ Mr. Wanseforde . . . . . his mare, 4
„ Mr. Anthony Franckland, his tryer.
„ Mr. Loftus . . . . . his horse, 5
„ Mr. Francis Wickliffe, his tryer.

Imprimus—Mr. Gylbert Wharton the last and the 6th.
„ Mr. Thomas Wharton, his tryer.

"So every party putting xl shillings, hath maid upp the stake of xii pounds, for the buying of another cupp, for the next year following."

Then follows, "A new maid race upon Richmond Moore for a gilded cuppe of xii pounds value," no date.

[125] Sir George Bowes, of Brundley, grandson of Sir George Bowes, Knight, Marshal north of Trent, and half nephew to Sir Talbot Bowes who was knighted at Aske Hall when James I. was his guest there during the night of April 16, 1617. He was ancestor of John Bowes, Esq., of Streatlam Castle, who won the Derby four times: in 1835 with Mundig, in 1843 with Cotherstone, in 1852 with Daniel O'Rourke, and in 1853 with West Australian.

In the household books of Lord William Howard, of Naworth Castle, payments occur, in the year 1612, on account of disbursements in connection with the races at Langwathby.* Beyond a few such entries we have been unable to obtain any information relating to this meeting, which was supported and patronized by Lord William Howard and the members of his family, who are likewise occasionally mentioned as going to races in Scotland.

1612. Langwathby.*

There is no doubt that this well-known nobleman kept and ran his horses at the northern meetings as as he had done at Salisbury and other southern meetings before he settled in the north. Under the head of "stable charges," Barbary horses and others, evi-

* Pronounced Langomby, a parish on the eastern bank of the Eden, about five miles from Penrith, Cumberland.

dently racers, are mentioned, as they were (when in training) fed with bread.

Lord William Howard, better known as "Belted Will," was the third son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his marriage with Margaret, only daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Audley, of Walden. He was born December 19, 1563; educated at Cambridge, and married Lady Elizabeth Dacre, October 28, 1577. As to his early manhood and subsequent career during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we need not stop to record, suffice it here to state that he took up his residence at Naworth Castle early in the seventeenth century, and from that time until his death it was his chief residence, and the place around which there has been such an outgrowth of traditions respecting him.

These traditions present him to our view in a picturesque and romantic aspect, and additional vitality has been given to them by the graphic portrait which Sir Walter Scott has drawn in his "Lay of the Last Minstrel," of the outward garb and the gallant bearing of the Lord William Howard as Lord Warden of the Marches, though for the purposes of his story the poet antedated his existence and assigned to him an office which he never filled.

It is somewhat uncertain when the *soubriquet* of "Belted Will" became attached to him; a broad leathern belt, studded with a series of letters in metal, arranged so as to form a verse in German, used to be shown at Naworth as having belonged to him. Hence probably originated the name, to which Sir Walter's

stanza gave wide-spread currency (canto v. 16). By the name of "Belted Will," however, in whatever way it originated, he is now popularly known, and by the title of Lord Warden he is still traditionally designated. Tradition tells us also, and the statement finds a place even in the sober pages of the historian, that he maintained a garrison of one hundred and forty men at Naworth; whilst stories, based upon the rough-and-ready chastisement which he is supposed to have meted out to the banditti who infested that wild country, still meet with unhesitating acceptance and undoubting belief. What dweller on the Border refuses, for example, to give credence to that grim tale of the summary punishment dealt out to some unlucky wight, by reason of a peevish word from the lips of the Lord Warden being only too literally interpreted? "Hang him!" was the hasty ejaculation of Belted Will, when disturbed, in the library which still bears his name, by the tidings that a thief had been caught in some act of plunder or spoliation, and by the natural inquiry, how it might please my Lord to deal with him. The man-at-arms, who brought the intelligence and heard the response, retired perfectly satisfied that he had received a precise and definite order; and when, after some brief interval of time, my lord descended from his tower, he found the unhappy malefactor suspended either from some extemporized gallows in the court-yard, or from a bough of some neighbouring tree. It was a case of what was known on the Scotch border as "Jedburgh Justice," *i.e.* hanging the culprit first and trying him afterwards.

It is a somewhat ungrateful task to throw the light of historical evidence upon wild and picturesque legends which, in successive generations, have charmed the ear of eager childhood, when told by some hoary grandsire or some ancient grand-dame to a listening group around a winter hearth. But legends these really are, so far, at least, as this Lord William Howard is concerned. Yet how interesting it would be if the doughty deeds done by his horses on the northern race-courses had been handed down to posterity, instead of those traditions in which he never took hand, act, or part.

At the time when the Langwathby races are first mentioned, Lord William Howard and the Lady Elizabeth, his wife, had ten surviving children—seven sons and three daughters. They lived in patriarchal fashion. For many years none seem to have left the paternal roof, with the exception of the married daughters. The sons married one after another; but they and their wives and children lived on at Naworth Castle, until, in the later years of Lord William's life, some of them appear to have resided on the lesser mansion houses or on their father's estates. The household books exhibit, to some extent, the rural sports and pastimes pursued by Lord Howard's family in the North of England, which need not be recapitulated here. Unfortunately, the references to the turf contained in those quaint volumes are rather few and far between, yet in the absence of fuller information they must be received with welcome. "Belted Will" died at Naworth Castle on the 7th of October, 1640, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

"On Thursday [April 3] thear was a great Horse-race on the Heath for a cupp, where his Majesty was present, and stood on a scaffold the Citie had caused to be set up,* and withall caused the race a quarter of a mile longe to be raled and corded with rope and hoopes on both sides, whereby the people were kept out, and the horses that ronned were seen faire.

1617. Lincoln. April.

"On Friday there was a great Hunting, and a Race by the horses which rid the seat for a golden snaffle; and a race by three Irishmen and an Englishman, all which his Majesty did behold. The Englishman wonne the race." †

The following entry occurs under date March 6, 1616-17 in the MS. archives of the City of Salisbury, from which we learn that the old regulations for the races there were duly observed at this time, and that this sporting corporation had instituted coursing on their famous Plain and gave a gold bell to the winning dog:—

1617. Salisbury.

"March 6. Mr. Mayor hath received the golden horse bell, the golden dog bell, the golden snaffle, and

* If the city of Lincoln erected the royal stand, it seems the king had to pay for it:—

"For makinge ready at Lincolne for his ma^tie eighte dayes, a dynninge roume there for the lordes twoe dayes, the Church there three severall tymes sixe dayes, the Bishoppes house for his ma^tie to dyne at twoe dayes, for a Cockfightinge there twoe dayes, for a ffencynge there twoe dayes, for twoe playes there fower dayes, *for a standinge to see the horserace* twoe dayes; in all by the space of xxviij dayes mensbz marcij et Aprilis 1616 & 1617 xxvij^li x^s viij^d." —Exchequer L.T.R., Wardrobe Accs. Treasurer of the Chamber, series I., box G., bundle 5, m. 5, MS., P.R.O.

† MS., Bodleian Lib., Oxon.

a box, given by Mr. Marwell, late Mayor, to put the aforesaid bonds."

1619. In 1619 William, Earl of Pembroke, and "divers noblemen and sundrie knights and gentlemen of quality," raised a sum of money to provide "a silver cup gilt with gold" for ever after to be run with horses at the "general" races on Salisbury plain. This cup was to supersede the golden bell and snaffle formerly run for there—the latter trophies to be sold and the value to be added to other contributions "for the maintenance of the said race for ever." *

1617—1618. Lancashire: Whalley Abbey, Liverpool, Walton. Horse-races are mentioned as occurring in Lancashire in the year 1617, at Whalley Abbey, Liverpool and Walton.

The following entries are found in the "Journal of Nicholas Assheton" [126]:—"1617. July 16. Sir Ric.[127] with all the rest of the gents, to Whalley Abbey,[128] self, *cum aliis*, to John Lawes; back to th' abbey. All but two ould knights to Salburie; then had one course and missed. East Bradford. Ther Mr. Townely,[129] Car, cum al. from London; made merrie. . . . July 18. Sir Ric. and Mr. Assheton made a match, dunngelding against a dunn nagg of Sir Ric at Lirplo, for 20 pieces a side; Sir Ric. and my Cooz [130] to ride light as they can, so as Sir Ric. be ten stone. . . . 1618. Jan. 26. Self, Jo. Braddyll, Cooz. Assheton wth others went to Walton [131]

* See *post*, *sub anno* 1654. James I. was at Salisbury in August, 1613, when "standings" were erected for the king and queen "to see the foote-ball playe."—Wardrobe Acc., Treasurer of the Chamber, bundle 4, m. 10, *dorso*.

to see Sir Ric. horses that stode ther. (Here follows a long account of an horse-race.)" [132] —Chetham Society, vol. xiv., Journal of Nicholas Assheton, edited by Rev. H. R. Raines, M.A., F.S.A., etc.

[120] The Asshetons derived their surname from the town of Ashton-under-Lyne, where, according to the heralds of former times, they were seated shortly after the Norman Conquest. Leaving the ancestors of the author of the "Journal" at peace in their tombs for twenty generations, we find that Nicholas Assheton was born in 1590, and that he died on April 16, 1625. The Rev. H. R. Raines, in a brief memoir, wrote as follows of this rustic Turfite :—

"The utility of such a Journal to the writer is somewhat doubtful, although its interest to posterity is unquestionable. Why he should have recorded, without deploring, so many deviations from propriety, and have condemned himself for so much flagrant dissipation, without any expression of regret for the past or intention of amendment for the future, is one of those curious phenomena which admits of no explanation. . . . Incessant amusements, or to adopt the phrase of a contemporary, 'huntings and such like journeys,' occupied so large and extravagant a proportion of time that more important matters would most invariably glide out of his mind, and render him essentially and habitually a mere man of the world, living within a circle of fox-hunters and rejoicing in the possession of 'leathern lungs and nerves of iron.' Had his lot been cast in times when Newmarket and Ascot were places of fashionable resort, and the St. Leger and Dee Stakes popular objects of ambition, it is tolerably clear that the Turf would have ranked him among its brightest ornaments. His indisputable skill in hunting, shooting, racing, coursing, hawking, fishing, and other kindred pursuits (in all of which he was clearly *ipse agmen*), must have been acquired by laboriously converting the amusements into the business of his every-day life." The reverend editor is wrong in many of his deductions and an unfair critic. Mr. Harrison Ainsworth's

well-known delineation of Nicholas Assheton's character is in every respect more reliable and honest (see "The Lancashire Witches," bk. ii. ch. iii.).

John Bruen, of Bruen Stapelford, in Cheshire, a contemporary writer and a rigid Puritan, remarks anent this subject: "Mee thinkes these gentlemen's horses being so grosly abused should likewise rebuke the fiercnes and foolishness of their masters, if not by man's voice yet by the voices of their grievous grones which they may heare from them, when being over-rid, past their strength and breath, their hearts are ready to breake and to burst under them (!). . . . A good rul for our horse-racers, rank riders, and hot-spurre hunters (if they have grace to follow it) in all their recreations and pursuits of their pleasures, to measure their actions and moderate their passions by; that as they may and ought to have a care to charge no burden upon their children but such as they may well beare, so they may not over-draw, nor overdrive their beasts for one day, nor put them to any toyle or travell, but that which they are well able to indure."

[127] SIR RICHARD MOLINEUX, created Viscount Maryborough, December 22, 1628, in which year he had been returned knight of the shire for the county palatine of Lancaster, and died in 1632. His descendant in the fifth generation was Charles William, the 9th viscount, created Earl of Sefton, November 30, 1771, and great-grandfather of William Philip Molyneux, the present Earl of Sefton.

[128] Whalley Abbey: the seat of the Asshetons at Downham.

[129] MR. TOWNLEY of Carr was Richard, eldest son of Lawrence Townley. He died in 1630, without issue by his wife, Alice, daughter of John Braddyll, of Portfield, Esq. This lady afterwards married Christopher Townley, Esq., who, in conjunction with Dr. Kuerden, projected, but never finished, a history of the county palatine of Lancaster. He was the son of Richard Townley, Esq., of Townley, born

there January 9, 1603, and buried at Burnley, August, 1674. His MS. collections were until recently preserved at Townley. He died intestate, and on February 24, 1674, an inventory of his goods was made, when his collection of manuscripts was valued at *eleven shillings!* Well might Dean Raines exclaim: "The labours of a life valued at 11*s.*! Alas for literary pursuits!" Times have altered; a portion of these manuscripts were recently sold by auction in London, when the sale realized over £8000. Richard Townley's descendants, during the latter end of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century, were, in consequence of their religion, patrons of the Turf *under assumed names*, the family barber being the ostensible owners of their horses. The late Colonel Townley (the last of his race) was well known as a Turfite, but better as a genial country gentleman and breeder of shorthorns.

[130] Richard Assheton, Esq., styled "cozen" of Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley, Bart.

[131] Walton-le-Dale, situated at the south-western parish of Whalley, and near Whalley Abbey.

[132] Only a portion of this Diary was printed by Dr. Whitaker in his "History of Whalley." The original manuscript—which is, unfortunately, lost—is said to have consisted of a few leaves, which the doctor intended to have bound together, but whether this judicious care was extended to the manuscript appears to be no less doubtful than its present existence.

1620. Thetford. "The horse-races occasioned disturbance here, and caused letters to be sent from the privy council to suppress them." *—"The Hist. of Thetford," by Thomas Martin, F.A.S., p. 293.

"Sir Simon D'Ewes, in his Journal, makes inci-

* The Registers of the Privy Council preserved at Downing Street contain no reference to this transaction.

dental mention of a horse-race in Cambridgeshire, in the reign of King James I. near Linton, at which town most of the company lay on the night of the race (Top. Brit., No. xv., p. 11)." *— Lyson's "Magna Britanica," vol. iii., pt. i., p. 240, note. Lond., 1808.

James I. Linton.

LINTON is a small town and parish, having a station on the Cambridge and Sudbury branch of the Great Eastern Railway, thirteen miles south-west from Newmarket. At the time of the Domesday survey, there were two manors in Linton, both of which belonged to Alan, Earl of Britanny; these manors were united as early as the reign of Henry VI. in the Paris family, of which they were purchased in 1675, by Sir Thomas Scalter, Bart., who dying in 1684, bequeathed the estate to his great-nephew, Thomas Scalter, Esq., then a student in Trinity College, Cambridge: he afterwards assumed the name of Bacon, and was at the time of his death, in 1734, M.P. for the town of Cambridge. In 1768 Mr. Thomas Scalter King, to whose family the estate had been devised by Mr. Bacon, sold them to Lord Montfort, of whom they were purchased three years afterwards (when his lordship "got broke" by bad investments on the Turf) by Dr. Keene, Bishop of Ely, ancestor of Col. Edmund Buck Keene, the present lord of the manor.

The following primitive agreement of a match, to be run for at Brackley, was made July 13, 1612, between two gentlemen of the same family in Northamptonshire: "It is agreed on between Henry Throgm'ton [Throgmorton] and Thomas Throgm'ton, the daye and yeare above written, that the above named are to meete

James I. *c.* 1612. Brackley, Northamptonshire.

* See *ante*, p. 322. It was at this meeting James I. became acquainted with George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

together the Twesday after Michelmas next at Brackley Cwoorse, and thether to bringe a graye mare and gray shorne mane nadgge, and each of them to ridde the same coursse uppon equal wate in there parsones, for x quarter of oates" (Signed) "Henry Thockm'ton, Thomas Throckmorton." *

c. 1621. Derby.

Horse-racing at Derby is mentioned by Beaumont and Fletcher, in their play "Monsieur Thomas," acted about 1621 :—

Sebastian. Tom, when is the horse-race?
Thomas. I know not, sir.
Seb. Will you be there?
Tho. Not I, sir;
I have forgot those journeys.
Seb. Spoil'd for ever!—
The cocking holds at Derby, and there will be
Jack Wild-oats and Will Purser.
Tho. I am sorry, sir,
They should employ their time so slenderly;
Their understandings will bear better courses.
Mons. Thomas, Act ii. sc. 3.

1607. York.

"In 1607, during a protracted and severe frost, the river Ouse was completely frozen over, and the ice was so strong, that various sports were practised upon it. Drake observes, that even a horse-race was run on the frozen element from the tower at the end of Marygate, under the great arch of the bridge, to the crane, at Skeldergate Postern."—Hargrove, "History and Description of the Ancient City of York," vol. i., p. 136.

* Baker, "Northamptonshire," vol. i., p. 573.

"Paisley fairs were celebrated markets in olden times, and very much frequented by dealers in horses and cattle, tradesmen with articles of utility, packmen with merchandize, bagpipers, ballad-singers, and a long list of attendants and mendicants, all endeavouring to turn a penny. The rural population from the country parishes of the country and neighbouring shires, flocked to the fair to make their purchases, and to enjoy a general holiday. The horse-race, instituted in 1608, by the Town Council of Paisley, called the 'Bell Race,' from their presenting 'Silver Bells,' to be run for annually, was an attraction for drawing crowds of people to the fair. These fairs and races have both been celebrated in song and elegy. In a song ascribed to John, Duke of Argyll, titled 'Argyll is my name,' there is the following verse respecting the fair:—

1608—1620. Paisley.

> 'I'll buy a fine present to bring to my dear,
> A pair of fine garters for Maggie to wear,
> And some pretty things else, I do declare,
> When she gangs wi' me to Paisley fair.'

And Robert Tempill, one of the Betrees' poets, in his 'Elegy on Habbie Simson,' the piper of Kilbarchan, has a verse on the races:—

> 'And at horse races many a day,
> Before the black, the brown, the gray,
> He gart his pipe, when he did play,
> Baith skiral and skreid;
> Now all such pastime's quite away
> Sen' Habbie's deid.'

"Act anent the Silver Bell, April, 1608.—ITEM—It is concluded that one silver bell to be made of four-

ounces weight, with all diligence, for one horse-race yearly, to be appointed within this burgh, and the bounds on the day of the running thereof to be set down by advice of my Lord Earl of Abercorn, Lord Paisley and Kilpatrick.[133]

"Act setting downe ane horse-raise. Apud Paisley decimo tertio de mensis Maij, 1620.

"The quhilk day Andro Crawfurde, and Jon. Algeo, younger baellies of ye burghe thereof, with the counselle of the samyn, being convenit in the tolbuith of the said burghe, for ordour taking with sundrie thingis concerning the commone will of the samyn and manelie anent the conclusion of their bell-race and efterschot quhilk was of auld set downe and not effectual. Tharfoir, It is now concludit and ordainit be the saidis baillies ane counsell with advyse and consent aforesaid, That yeirlie in the time cuming thair bell raice sal be rune on the saxt day of Maij in mander following, viz.: To be start at the Gray Stane callit St. Connalis Stone, and fra that rich eist to the by till house at the calsay end of Renfrew, and fra that the till Kingis way to the Walnuik of Paislaye, and quhat horse first comes over a score at . . . Renfrew sall have ane dowbill aingell, and the horse and mister yairof that first comes over the scoir at the said Walnuik of Paislaye sall have the said bell with the said burghes airmes yair oponn for yat zeir." *

[133] Lord Claud Hamilton—third son of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, and Lady Margaret

* "Saint Mirin: an Historical Account of Paisley," by David Temple, p 154.

Douglas, eldest daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Morton—having been amongst the most zealous partisans of Mary, Queen of Scots, obtained from her son, King James, July 29, 1587, a grant of the whole barony of Paisley, with the dignity of BARON PAISLEY. His brother John was created Marquis of Hamilton, April 17, 1599. Lord Paisley married Margaret, only daughter of George, Lord Leyton, and had issue James, Earl of Abercorn, Sir Claud, Sir George, and Frederick. Lord Paisley died in 1621, and was succeeded by his grandson, James, 2nd Earl of Abercorn.

"It has been seen that horse-racing was, from an early time, practised as a public amusement at various places in Scotland. One of these not formerly noticed was Paisley. A silver bell of four ounces weight was made in 1608 to serve as a prize for the Paisley race. Such was in those days the accustomed prize at a race, giving rise to the proverbial expression, 'He bore off the bell.' It may be remarked, however, that a winner of a silver bell at a race did not obtain it as a permanent property, but only for a year's keeping, as it is customary the silver arrows and silver clubs now played for by archery and golfing societies.

1608—1620. Paisley. May.

"At the date noted, the Town Council of Paisley, under the guidance of their provost, the Earl of Abercorn,[134] arranged that their annual horse-race should be run on the 6th of May, 'to be start at the gray stane called St. Connel's Stane, and frae that the king's highway to the Wall-neuk of Renfrew, and frae that the king's highway to the Wall-neuk of Paisley; and what horse first comes over the score at . . . Renfrew, sall have ane double angel; and the

1620.

horse and master thereof that first comes over the score at the Wall-neuk of Paisley, sall have the said bell with the said burgh's arms thereon, for that year, together with the rest of the gold that sall be given with the said bell . . . except ane double angel that sall be given to the second horse and his master that comes next over the score to the foremost.' . . . The horses and their owners to gather at Paisley in good time before the race, and the riders to be weighed at the Tron of the burgh. It was also arranged that there should be 'an aftershot race . . . frae ane score of the slates of Ellerslie to ane other score at the causehead of the burgh of Paisley, by horse of the price of ane hundred marks . . . for ane furnished saddle, whilk sall be presented by the said bailies of Paisley present and to come at the score of the said causey-head' (Maintland, 'Misc.,' p. 195)."—"Dom. Ann. Scotland," vol. i., p. 514.

[134] Probably James HAMILTON, son and heir of James, 2nd Marquis of Abercorn, who died March 2, 1625. "The Earl of Abercorn" was subsequently 3rd Marquess and 1st Duke of Hamilton.

1608. Peebles. May.

The following proclamation prohibiting the race meeting at Peebles in May, 1608, was issued on the 28th of the preceding month: "Forsameikle as the Lords of Secret Council are informit that there is ane horse-race appointit to be at Peblis the of May nextocome, whereunto grit numbers of people of all qualities and ranks, intends to repair, betwixt whom there being quarrels, private

grudges, and miscontment, it is to be feirit that at their meeting upon fields, some troubles and inconvenients sall fall out amangs them, to the break of his Majesty's peace, and disquieting of the country without remeed be providit; Therefore the Lords of Secret Council his dischargit, and be the tenor hereof discharges, the said horse-race, and ordanes that the same sall be nawise halden nor keepit this year; for whilk purpose ordains letters to be direct, to command, charge, and inhibit all and sundry his Majesty's lieges and subjects by open proclamation at the marcat-cross of Peblis and other places needful, that nane of them presume nor tak upon them to convene and assemble themselves to the said race this present year, but to suffer that meeting and action to depart and cease, as they and ilk of them will answer upon the contrary at their hedchest peril, &c."

"In the reign of James I. public races were established; and such horses as had given proofs of superior abilities, became known and celebrated. Their breed was cultivated, and their pedigree, as well as those of their posterity (in imitation, perhaps, of the Arabian manner) were preserved and recorded with the most minute exactness.—Gateley, in Yorkshire, Theobalds, on Enfield Chase, and Croydon, near London, were then the usual places for exhibitions allotted for the fleetest racers."—Garrow, "Hist. of Croydon," (1818), p. 204.

"We have been told, but I know not upon what authority, that King James I., the first institutor of regulations relating to horse-racing, held Croydon and Enfield Chase in the greatest estimation as resorts for this his favourite pastime."—Steinman's "Hist. of Croydon" (Lond., 1833), p. 14.

"Public races began to have their present arrangements established in the reign of James I., and all the rules for

carrying weights, physicking, &c., being the same very nearly as now. Charles II. altered the bell upon which the exploits and pedigree of the horse to a bowl, were engraved."—Fosbroke, "Encyclopedia of Antiquities," p. 691. Lond., 4to, 1840.

"Popular sports and games were less pursued now than formerly, from the various changes in the mode of living. James I., indeed, delighted in hawking, which kept that sport in a little longer. His son Henry and most of the courtiers spent much time in tennis and the new game of pall-mall, which consisted of striking a ball through a hoop at some distance from the ground. Billiards were also growing very fashionable, but the old rough sports of bull and bear-baiting and cock-fighting remained for the stern hands of Cromwell and his officers to put down. In order to encourage the people in their games, and vex the Presbyterians, who had annoyed him by their rigid observance of the Sabbath, James put forth a Book of Sports allowable to be used on Sundays and holidays after prayers, which was read throughout the parish churches of the kingdom, and was afterwards revived by Charles I. under the advice of Archbishop Laud. . . . Horse-racing was now very much extended, and the breed of horses very greatly improved in consequence; furious riding and driving were reckoned, indeed, among the characteristics of an Englishman. The amusements of the citizens chiefly consisted in bowling, dancing, cards and dice, billiards, plays, balls, &c. The lord mayor kept a pack of hounds, which had the privilege of hunting in Middlesex, Herts, and Kent. The lower classes of Londoners enjoyed themselves with foot-ball, wrestling, cricket, nine-pins, quoits, bull and bear-baiting, &c." —Eccleston, p. 437.

END OF VOL. I.

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